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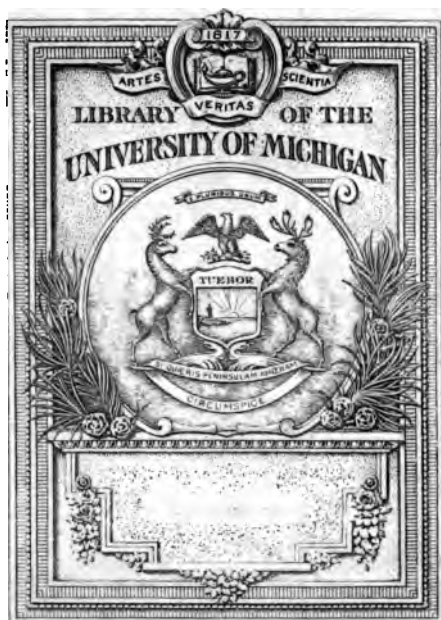
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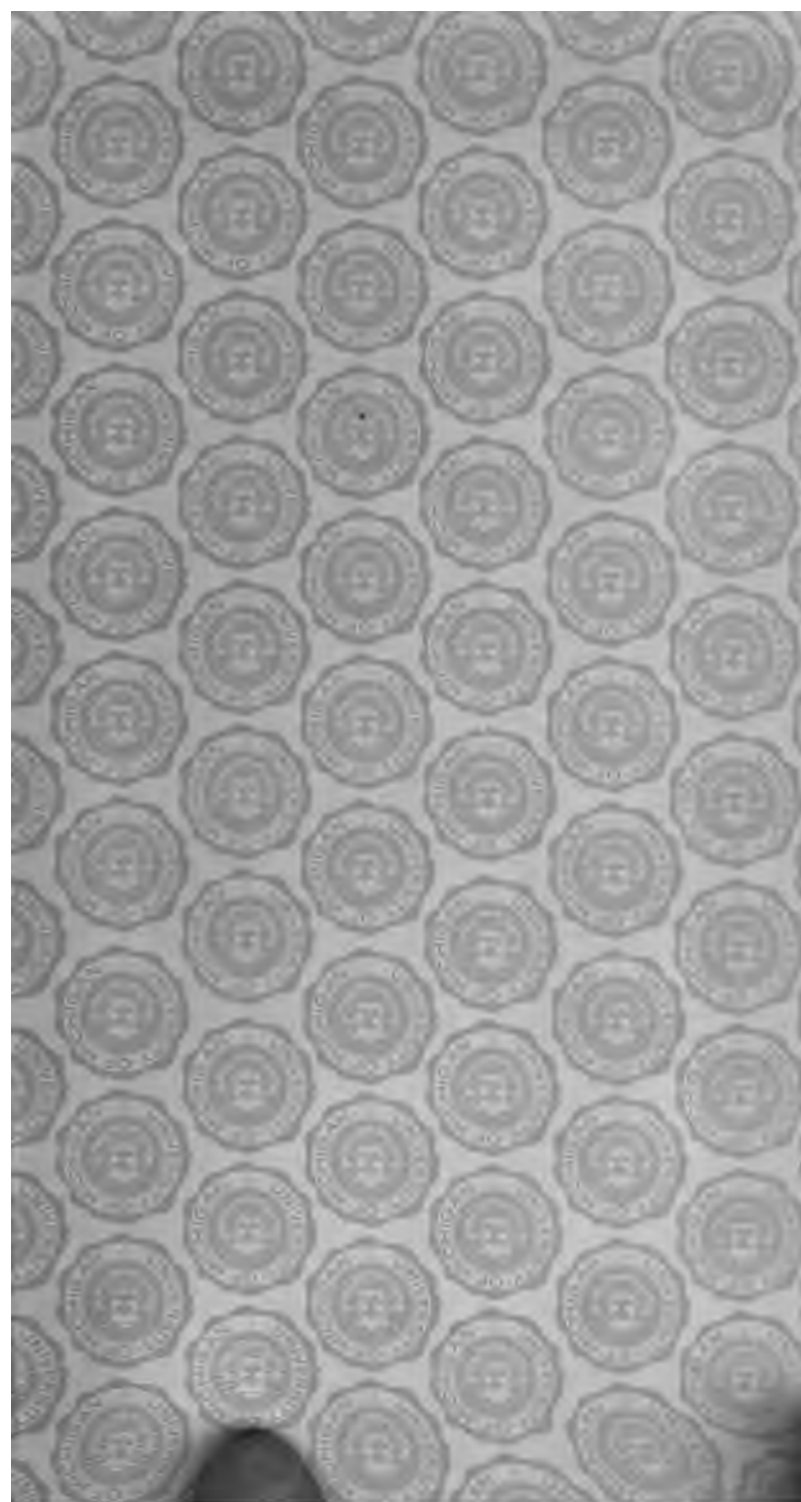
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A

COLLECTION OF ADDRESSES

TRANSMITTED BY CERTAIN

ENGLISH CLUBS AND SOCIETIES

TO THE

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE;

THE DECREE OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
RESPECTING THE SCHELDT;

AND

EXTRACTS FROM SEVERAL TREATIES RESPECT-
ING THE NAVIGATION OF THAT RIVER:

AND ALSO

CERTAIN DECREES OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION,

LE BRUN'S REPORT;

THE SPEECHES OF M. M. CAMBON, DUPONT,
AND KERSAINT;

WITH

SEVERAL OTHER INTERESTING PAPERS,

TENDING CHIEFLY TO SHew THE GENERAL VIEWS OF FRANCE
WITH RESPECT TO THIS AND OTHER COUNTRIES;

To which are added,

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEDITIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE
ENGLISH SOCIETIES;

WITH A LIST OF THOSE SOCIETIES.

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

L O N D O N :

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1793.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The text also mentions the need for regular audits to ensure that the records are up-to-date and correct.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THAT the Public may judge of the disposition of certain individuals in this country, and of the nature of the intercourse which they have held with persons in *France*—that they may form a just idea of the conduct of *France* towards all Neutral Nations ; towards our allies, and towards this country itself, the following Papers are collected, and laid before them.

No further comment is made, because the Papers speak for themselves : they contain principles, if they can be so called, subversive of all Justice, and of every Law upon which Nations have hitherto acted ; and evidently demonstrate the determined hostility of *France* towards this country.

To the Second Edition, the Reader will perceive that very considerable additions are made. The Decree of War against this country, and the curious discussions which preceded it, were of a nature fully to entitle them to a place in this collection.

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Adresse des Amis du Peuple, de la Ville de Newington, à la Convention Nationale de la République Française. Londres, le 31^{ème} Oct. 1792.

FRANCOIS et Concitoyens du Monde: Réunis à l'effet d'obtenir une Représentation juste et égale du Peuple, et une Reforme entière des Abus nombreux qui se sont glissés dans le Gouvernement de ce Pays, nous voyons, avec autant de peine que d'Inquiétude, les efforts ou cachés qu'on ne cesse de faire pour troubler la Paix, et renverser la Liberté nouvelle de la Nation Française. Nous vous felicitons cependant bien cordialement de la defaite et de l'expulsion totale des Armées Combinées de ces despotes insensés, de ces Rebelles impies qui sont venus porter la Desolation dans vos Campagnes, le ravage dans vos Villes, et massacrer impitoyablement leurs innocens habitans. La Bonté de votre Cause devoit

être couronnée du Succès; votre Sagesse, votre Bravoure l'ont assuré; vos sages decrets ont déjà éclairé l'Europe; et pareils aux Rayons du Soleil, ils éclaireront bientôt les quatre parties du Monde: les deux grands Remparts de la Liberté humaine sont les Corps législatif et judiciaire; en organisant bien le second, vous vous êtes assuré les avantages du premier. Vous avez depuis donné une preuve de votre sagesse consommée en tenant les pouvoirs législatif, judiciaire, et executif entièrement distincts, et en déclarant que les deux derniers seroient respectivement responsable au grand Conseil de la Nation. C'est désormais en France que la Justice sera administrée à peu de Frais; que le Commerce, sous vos Loix salutaires, sera utilement protégé, et que les propriétés de l'Industrie seront partout assurées.

Sénateurs illustres! Législateurs éclairés, chers Amis, nous pouvons vous informer aujourd'hui et avec une Satisfaction bien vraie, que l'Inimitié impiee, si longtemps et si méchamment entretenue dans le Cœur d'un Peuple généreux envers la Nation Francoise, par les Manœuvres et l'Intrigue d'une Cour pervers, n'existe plus que dans l'ame des pervers qui profitent des Abus, et que nous saluons d'avance avec transport l'heureux moment qui réunira les deux Nations d'un bien indissoluble, comme le Précurseur de la Paix et de la Concord universelle.

C'est avec la plus vive et la plus profonde Sensibilité que nous contemplons le Succès de vos Armes dans votre Enterprise glorieuse d'arracher à l'Esclavage et au Despotisme les braves Nations qui bordent vos Frontières: Combien est sainte l'Humanité qui vous pousse à briser leurs fers.

(Signé)

JOHN FRED. SCHIEFFER, PRÉSIDENT.
FRANK PEACOCK, SECRÉTAIRE.

Adress

Address from the Society of Newington to the National Convention, dated the 31st October, 1792. Read in the Sitting of the 10th November.

Address from the Friends of the People of the Town of Newington, to the National Convention. London, the 31st Oct. 1792.

FRENCHMEN and Brother-Citizens of the World: Being united in order to obtain a just and equal Representation of the People, and an entire Reform of the numberless Abuses which have crept into the Government of this Country, we see with as much pain as uneasiness the open or secret efforts which are made to disturb the Peace and overthrow the New Liberty of the French Nation. We congratulate you, however, very cordially on the total Defeat and Expulsion of the Combined Armies of those senseless Despots and their impious Rebels, who came to desolate your Fields, ravage your Towns, and massacre the innocent Inhabitants: the goodness of your Cause could not but be crowned with Success; your Wisdom and Valour have ensured it; your wise Decrees have enlightened Europe, and, like the rays of the Sun, will soon enlighten the four parts of the World. The two great bulwarks of human Liberty are the Legislative and Judiciary Bodies; by a proper organization of the latter, you have ensured to yourselves the advantage of the former. You have since given a proof of your consummate wisdom, by keeping the Legislative, Judiciary, and Executive Powers entirely distinct, and by declaring that the two latter should be respectively responsible to the Grand Council of the Nation. It will be in France that Justice will henceforward be administered at little expence, that Commerce, by your salutary Laws, will be usefully protected, and that the product of industry will be every where ensured.

Illustrious Senators, dear Friends, enlightened Legislators,

gislators, we can inform you at this day, and with the truest Satisfaction, that the impious enmity so long and malignantly kept up in the hearts of a generous People towards the French Nation, by the manœuvres and intrigues of a perfidious Court, exists no more but in the hearts of the perverse, who profit by Abuses, and that we anticipate with transport the happy moment that shall unite the two Nations by an indissoluble bond, as the forerunner of universal peace and concord.

It is with the warmest and most profound sensibility that we behold the success of your Arms, in your *undertaking to deliver from Slavery and Despotism the brave Nations which border your Frontiers : How holy is the Humanity which prompts you to break their Chains.*

(Signed)

JOHN FREDERICK SCHIEFFER, PRESIDENT.
FRANCIS PEACOCK, SECRETARY.

The President then read the Answer he had written to five English Societies :

ENGLISHMEN, and Brother-Citizens of the World :
The National Convention has heard with the warmest Sensibility, the generous Declaration of the English Citizens who cordially unite with us in our labours.

The Sentiments of 5000 Britons, devoted openly to the cause of Mankind, exists without doubt in the Hearts of all the Freemen in England,

Let them not still consider the Neutrality as a reproach while they are Spectators of the grand struggle for Liberty against Despotism—their respect for a Constitution which they have learnt to judge in silence, is no longer that antiquated Superstition which promised to Government the impunity of its faults ; it is rather the effect of a prudent and political gravity, of which *being able to temper its force, seems to command the Government to observe*

observe that *Neutrality*, and to warn it to be as just, or at least as prudent as the Nation.

Believe, generous Englishmen, that by following that system, you do not less concur with us in the grand work of Liberty. Let us advance some steps further in that career in which you were our Precursors, and let us enjoy by anticipation, and with a common hope, that epocha (doubtless not far distant), when the Interests of Europe and of Mankind shall invite the two Nations to stretch out the hand of Fraternity.

(This Answer was adopted.)

Adresse de la Societé de la Revolution de Londres à la Convention Nationale, datée du 5 Nov. 1792. Lue dans la Seance du tier Novembre.

Un Secrétaire fait lecture de la pièce suivante Adresse de la Societé de la Revolution de Londres, à la Convention Nationale de France.

CITOYENS François, la Societé instituée pour perpétuer la Mémoire de la Revolution de la Grande Bretagne, vous fait cette Adresse avec le plus sincere respect.

Sur la proposition de l'un de nos Membres, le feu Docteur PRICE, dont nous regrettons la perte, nous vous avons déjà félicité de vos premiers succès dans la cause commune de la Liberté, et nous ne pouvons garder le silence dans une époque aussi fertile en événemens. Quand même les Ennemis qui ont envahis la France ravageroient encore vos Villes, nous vous ferions toujours cette Adresse, dans l'espoir qu'une Nation qui ne combat pas seulement pour elle-même, mais encore pour tout le genre

genre humain, finiroit par être victorieuse. Les Tyrans qui vous menaçoient se sont retirés honteusement, et les amis de la liberté de tous les pays partagent la joie de vos triomphes.

Nous nous réjouissons sur tout de votre dernière Révolution du 10 *Aout*, qui étoit si nécessaire pour vous assurer les avantages que la première avoit fait espérer ; et nous anticipons avec plaisir le moment où vous aurez achevé vos travaux, et fondé un Gouvernement sage et équitable, qui puisse être l'admiration des amis de l'homme, et la terreur et le désespoir des Tyrans.

Représentans d'un peuple, nous honorons aujourd'hui la mémoire de nos braves Ancêtres, qui résistèrent à la tyrannie de CHARLES Premier, et nous célébrons la Révolution qui chassa son fils. Nous ne pouvons pas douter du droit qui appartient à tous les peuples de faire résistance à l'oppression ; et de se donner telle forme de Gouvernement qui peut leur être dictée par leur propre sagesse : ce droit, reconnu dans la théorie par tous les défenseurs de la liberté, fit la base de la Révolution que nous célébrons ; et nous goûtons une douce joie en voyant que ce droit d'insurrection a été exercé avec succès dans une aussi vaste contrée que la République de France.

Nous désirons ardemment que les deux Nations, liées par la nature, mais divisées pendant des siècles par les intrigues des Cours et l'orgueil des Princes, puissent être bientôt unies par l'amour de la paix, et par les services réciproque, d'un commerce dégagé de toute espèce d'entraves ; nous désirons que la France et la Grande Bretagne, autrefois rivales dans la carrière trompeuse et funeste de l'ambition, n'aient plus maintenant d'autre émulation que celle de faire des efforts pour hâter le règne de la liberté, des lumières et du bonheur de l'humanité, et pour faire tellement respecter les droits de l'homme sur toute la terre, que le caractère et les distinctions

tions de tyran et d'esclave, ne foyent plus connus que dans l'histoire.

(Signé)

J. TOWERS, PRESIDENT.

— COOPER, SECRETAIRE.

5eme Novembre, 1792.

Address from the Revolution Society, in London, to the National Convention, dated 5th of November. Read in the Sitting of 1st of November, 1792.

TRANSLATION.

A Secretary read the following Address from the Revolution Society of London to the National Convention of France.

FRENCH CITIZENS, the Society instituted to perpetuate the remembrance of the Revolution of Great Britain, offers you this Address with the sincerest respect.

At the suggestion of one of our Members, the late Dr. PRICE, whose loss we regret, we have already congratulated you on your first Successes in the common cause of Liberty; and we cannot be silent at a period so fruitful in events. Even if the Enemies who have invaded France, still raged your Towns, we would not keep back this Address; in the hope, that a certain Nation, which fights not for itself alone, but for the whole human race, would, in the end, prove victorious. The Tyrants who threatened you have retired with disgrace; and the Friends of Liberty, in all Countries, share the joy of your triumph.

ABOVE ALL, we rejoice in the late Revolution of the 10th of August, so necessary to secure to you the advantages which the former had taught you to expect; and

we anticipate with pleasure the moment at which you shall have finished your labours, and established a wise and equitable Government, which must be the Admiration of the Friends of Man, and the cause of terror and despair to Tyrants.

Representatives of a People, we now honour the memory of our brave Ancestors, who resisted the Tyranny of CHARLES the First; and we celebrate the Revolution which drove away his Son. We cannot doubt the right which belongs to all Nations to resist Oppression, and to give themselves such a form of Government as their own wisdom may suggest. This right, acknowledged in theory by all the Defenders of Liberty, formed the ground-work of the Revolution which we celebrate; and we feel an agreeable sensation in beholding **THAT THIS RIGHT OF INSURRECTION** has been successfully exercised in so large a Country as that of the French Republic.

We ardently desire, that the two Nations, united by Nature, but divided for ages by the intrigues of Courts, and the pride of Princes, may soon be re-united by the love of Peace, and by the reciprocal advantages of a Commerce freed from every kind of restraint. We desire that France and Great Britain, formerly rivals in the deceitful and fatal career of Ambition, may no longer entertain any other spirit of emulation than that which leads to the hastening the reign of Liberty, of knowledge and of the happiness of man; and to the causing the Rights of Man to be so respected over the whole Earth, that the characters and distinctions of Tyrant and Slave may be no longer known, except in History.

(Signed)

J. TOWERS, PRESIDENT.

—COOPER, SECRETARY.

Nov. 5th 1792.

On lit une Lettre du Président de la Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité établie à Belfast, en Irlande.

Elle est ainsi conçue.

COMME Président de l'Assemblée des Citoyens de Belfast en Irlande, je vous envoie l'Expression de ses Sentimens sur la Révolution de la France, et sur la nouvelle de son Achevement Glorieux. Je vous les transmets avec le Respect qu'un Homme doit à un autre Homme ; et dans la sincérité de mon coeur, je supplie l'Etre Suprême pour que, favorisant vos armes, elles domineroient à jamais les Tyrans. Pour la Gloire de l'Humanité, puisse votre Declaration des Droits être mise partout en pratique, et puisse bientôt la fraternité civique cimenter le Bonheur de l'Univers, et toutes les Religions et les Hommes se réunissent dans un Temple qui ait la Terre pour Autel, et l'Estrade du Ciel pour Dome.

(Signè) SIERT.

Sitting of the NATIONAL CONVENTION, Nov. 29, 1792.

A Letter was read from the President of the Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, established at Belfast in Ireland.—It is thus conceived—

AS President of the Assembly of Citizens of Belfast, in Ireland, I send you the expression of its Sentiments on the Revolution in France, and on the news of its glorious completion. I transmit them to you with the respect which one man owes to another ; and, in the sincerity of my heart, I entreat the Supreme Being that your Arms may be so favoured as to overawe Tyrants for ever. *For the Glory of Humanity, may your Declaration of Rights be EVERY WHERE PUT IN PRACTICE; may*

the Civic Fraternity soon cement the Happiness of the Universe, and may all Religions, and all Men, re-unite themselves in a Temple, which has the Earth for its Altar, and the Sky for its Canopy.

(Signed) SIERT.

Declaration faite par l'Assemblée des Volontaires et des Habitans de la Cité de Belfast en Irlande, tenue le 6ieme Nov. 1792 : lue dans la Seance du 29ieme Nov. 1792.

NOUS, Habitans et Volontaires de la Cité de Belfast, avec des Cœurs pleins de joie, nous assemblons de nouveau pour manifester la satisfaction qui nous causent les glorieux succès remportés par les Armées Francoises contre la horde innombrable de ses ennemis, qui sont aussi ceux de l'Espece Humaine, leur expulsion totale du Territoire de la Republique ; événement qui a levé tous les obstacles à l'établissement de la Liberté Civile et Religieuse chez les Francois, et qui assure la Liberté aux Nations voisines. Nous avons la plus haute opinion de la puissance invincible des hommes libres ; mais l'événement a surpassé nos espérances. Lorsque l'on considère la trahison du Pouvoir Executif, les perfidies de vos Officiers, l'état de Désorganisation ou étoit l'Armée, la coalition de tant d'ennemis qui paroissoient si formidables, la Réunion des Généraux du premier mérite à la tête des Troupes les plus aguerries, et que l'on voit que de si grands moyens ont été entièrement impuissans, on a peine à le croire ; mais l'Univers en a été témoin.

Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher d'attribuer le succès des Armes Francoises à la protection signalée de la Providence ; elle a donné un grand exemple des succès dont elle veut couronner les efforts que feront les Peuples pour fonder la Liberté Civile et Religieuse ; et nous implorons.

plorons avec ardeur l'Influence de l'Esprit de la Divinité pour qu'il eclare et dirige la Convention Nationale dans l'ouvrage de la Constitution qui lui est confié, à fin de donner à cet ouvrage une telle perfection qu'il puisse faire le bonheur des generations présentes et à naître.


(Suit un nombre considerable de Signatures.)

L'Assemblée ordonne l'Impression de cette Adresse, et charge son Président de répondre à la Société de Belfast.

Declaration made by the Assembly of Volunteers and Inhabitants of the City of Belfast in Ireland, held Nov. 6, 1792; read at the Sitting of Nov. 29, 1792.

WE, Inhabitants and Volunteers of the City of Belfast, with hearts full of joy, assemble ourselves again, in order to manifest the satisfaction we received from the glorious Successes obtained by the French Armies over the innumerable band of its Enemies, who are also those of the Human Race; and from their total expulsion from the territory of the Republic: an event which has removed all obstacles to the establishment of Civil and Religious Liberty amongst the French, and which secures Liberty to the neighbouring Nations. We have the highest opinion of the invincible power of Free Men, but the event has surpassed our expectations. When the treachery of the Executive Power, the perfidy of your Officers, the undisciplined state in which your Army was, the combination of so many enemies, who appeared so formidable, the union of Generals of the first character, at the head of Troops the most accustomed to service, are considered, and when such great attempts have turned out to be entirely inefficacious, the circumstance appears incredible; but the Universe has been witness of it.

We cannot help attributing the success of the French

Arms to the signal protection of Providence, which  given a great example of the success with which it will crown the efforts made by People, for the purpose of establishing Civil and Religious Liberty; and we ardently implore the Influence of the Divine Spirit, to enlighten and direct the National Convention in the work of the Constitution, which is entrusted to it, that such a degree of perfection may be given to that work, as may produce the happiness of the present, and of future Generations.

A considerable number of Signatures follows.

The Assembly orders the *Printing* of this Address, and directs its *President* to reply to the Society of Belfast.

Adresse de plusieurs Sociétés en Angleterre a la Convention Nationale. Lue dans la Séance du 7ieme Nov. 1792.

On lit une Adresse de plusieurs Sociétés Patriotiques d'Angleterre. Elle est ainsi conçue.

TANDIS que des bridands étrangers, sous le spécieux pretexte de venger la justice, ravagent votre territoire, et portent partout la désolation et la mort : tandis qu'aussi traitres que perfides, ils ont l'impudence de proclamer, que le compassion et l'amitié sont les seuls motifs de leurs incursions, la partie opprimée de l'humanité, oubliant ses propres maux, ne sent que les vôtres, et contemplant d'un œil inquiet les événemens, adresse au Dieu de l'univers, les prieres les plus ferventes, pour qu'il soit favorable à votre cause, à laquelle la leur est si intimement liée.

Avilis par un système oppresseur d'Inquisition, dont les empietemens insensibles, mais continus, ont bientôt ravi à cette nation toute sa liberté tant vantée, et l'on presque amenée à cet état abject d'esclavage dont vous
venez

prenez si glorieusement de sortir ; cinq mille citoyens Anglois transportés d'indignation, ont le courage de s'avancer pour arracher leur pays à l'opprobre dont là couvert la conduite lâche de ceux qui sont revetus du pouvoir. Ils croient qu'il est du devoir des vrais Bretons de soutenir et d'assister de tous leurs moyens les défenseurs des droits de l'homme, les propagateurs du bonheur de l'humanité, et de jurer à une Nation qui procède d'après le plan que vous avez adopté, une amitié inviolable. Puissé dès ce jour cette amitié être sacrée entre nous ; et puisse la vengeance lapl us éclatante tomber sur la tête de l'homme qui tentera d'occasionner une rupture !

François ! nôtre nombre paroitra peu considérable comparativement au reste de la nation, mais sachez que notre nombre augmente chaque jour ; et si le bras terrible et constamment levé de l'autorité en impose aux timides ; si les impostures repandues à chaque instant avec tant d'industrie, égarent les crédule, et si l'intimité publique de la Cour avec des François reconnus traîtres à leurs pays entraîne les imprevoyans et les ambitieux, nous pouvons vous dire aussi avec certitude, hommes libres et amis ! que l'instruction fait de progrès rapides parmi nous, que la curiosité s'est emparée de l'esprit public, que le regne inséparable de l'ignorance et du despotisme s'évanouit, et qu'aujourd'hui tous les hommes se demandent : qu'est ce que la liberté ? Quels sont nos droits ? François, vous etes déjà libres ; mais les Bretons se préparent à le devenir.

Dépouillés enfin de ces préjugés cruels, inculqués dans nos Cœurs avec tant d'industrie par de vils courtisans, au lieu d'ennemis naturels, nous ne voyons dans les François que nos concitoyens du monde, que les enfans de ce Pere commun, qui nous a tous créés pour nous aimer, pour nous secourir les uns les autres, et non pour nous

hâir

hair et être prêts à nous egorger au commandement de Rois foibles ou ambitieux, ou de ministres corrompus. En cherchant nos ennemis cruels, nous les trouvons dans les partisans de cette Aristocratie dévorante qui déchire notre Sein ; Aristocratie qui, jusqu'à présent, a été le poison de tous les pays sur la terre. Vous avez agi sagement, en la bannissant de la France.

Quelques fervens que soient nos souhaits pour vos succès, quelque ardens que soient nos desirs de voir à liberté triomphante sur la terre, et l'homme rétablie enfin partout dans la pleine jouissance de ses droits, nous ne pouvons, par un sentiment de notre devoir comme citoyens amis de l'ordre, voler en armes à votre secours. Notre Gouvernement a engagé la foi Nationale, que les Anglois resteroient neutres ? Dans une lutte de la liberté contre le despotisme, les Bretons rester neutres ! O honte ! mais nous avons donné à nos mains sont enchainées ; mais nos cœurs sont libres, et ils sont avec vous. Que les Despotes Allemands agissent comme ils le voudront, nous nous rejouirons de notre Roi des pouvoirs à discrétion, il nous faut obéir : leur chute. En plaignant les malheureux qu'ils tiennent en esclavage, nous nous flattons que leur tyrannie procurera enfin les moyens de rétablir dans la pleine jouissance de leurs droits, et de leur liberté, des millions de nos semblables. Nous voyons aussi, sans aucun intérêt, que l'Electeur d'Hanovre joigne ses troupes à celles des traîtres et des brigands ; mais le Roi d'Angleterre fera bien de se souvenir que l'Angleterre n'est pas la Hanovre. S'il pouvoit l'oublier, nous ne l'oublierons jamais. Tandis que vous jouissez, freres et amis, de la gloire enviée de défendre seuls la liberté, nous anticipons avec transport sur l'avenir, pour y voir les avantages sans nombre et le bonheur que vous procurerez aux hommes, si vous réussissez, comme nous le désirons ardemment. La triple alliance

alliance (non de couronnés) mais des Peuples de l'Amerique, de la France, et de la Grande Bretagne, donnera la liberté à l'Europe, et la Paix à l'Univers. Chers amis, si vous combattez pour le bonheur de l'humanité entière, est il pour vous aucune perte, quelque sanglante qu'elle soit, comparable à l'avantage glorieux et sans exemple de dire : l'univers est libre ! les tyrans et la tyrannie ne sont plus ! la paix regne sur la terre, et c'est aux Francois qu'on le doit.

Signed by Order,
MAURICE MARGAROT, PRESIDENT.
THOMAS HARDY, SECRETARY.

Address from several Societies in England to the National Convention of France, read in the Sitting of Nov. 7, 1792.

The following Address from several Patriotic Societies in England was read:

WHILST foreign Plunderers, under the specious pretence of avenging justice, ravage your territories, and carry every where desolation and death ; while with equal treachery and perfidy they have the impudence to proclaim, that compassion and friendship are the only motives of their incursions, *an oppressed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and beholding the present events with a disturbed eye, address their most fervent prayers to the God of the Universe, that He may be favourable to your cause, with which theirs is so intimately connected.*

Degraded by an oppressive system of Inquisition, the insensible, but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived this Nation of its boasted Liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of Slavery, from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves, Five Thousand ENGLISH CITIZENS,
fired

fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their Country from that opprobrium which has been thrown upon it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power; they think it the duty of True Britons to support and assist, with all their might, the Defenders of the Rights of Man, the Propagators of Human Happiness, and to swear eternal friendship to a Nation who pursues the plan which you have adopted: may that friendship be from this day sacred between us—may the most exemplary vengeance fall on the head of that man who shall attempt to dissolve it.

Frenchmen! our numbers will appear very small, when compared with the rest of the Nation; but know that it increases every day, and if the terrible and continually elevated Arm of Authority overawes the timid; if Falsehoods, every moment dispersed with so much industry, mislead the credulous, and if the public intimacy of the Court with Frenchmen, avowed traitors to their country, hurry away the ambitious and unthinking, we can with confidence assure you, Freemen and Friends, that Knowledge makes a rapid progress among us; that curiosity has taken possession of the minds of the public; that the reign of Ignorance, inseparable from that of Despotism, is vanishing; and that at present all men ask each other, What is Liberty? what are our Rights? Frenchmen, you are already free, but Britons are preparing to be so.

Divested at length of those cruel prejudices instilled into our hearts with so much industry by base Courtiers, instead of natural enemies, we behold in the French only Citizens of the World, Children of the common Father, who has created us all to love one another, to assist each other mutually, and not to hate each other, and to be ready to cut each other's throats at the command of weak or ambitious kings, or of corrupt ministers. Endeavouring to discover our cruel enemies, *we have found them*

them in the partisans of that destructive aristocracy by which our bosom is torn, an aristocracy which has hitherto been the bane of all the countries of the earth. You have acted wisely in banishing it from France.

However fervent may be our wishes for your success, however ardent may be our desires to see liberty triumphant on the earth, and mankind every where established in the full possession of their rights, we cannot, from a sense of our duty as Citizens and Friends to good order, take up arms to assist you. Our Government has pledged the National Faith, that it will remain neuter.

In the struggle of Liberty against Despotism, shall Britons remain neuter? oh shame! but having given our King discretionary powers, we must obey; our hands are fettered, but our hearts are free; and they are with you. Let German Despots act as they please, we shall rejoice in their fall. While we lament those unfortunate people whom they keep in a state of slavery, we flatter ourselves that their tyranny will at length afford them the means of restoring millions of our fellow-creatures to the full enjoyment of their rights and liberty. *We see also, without concern, that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of Traitors and Robbers; but the King of England will do well to remember, that England is not Hanover; should he forget this, we will not forget it.* Whilst you, Friends and Brethren, are enjoying the envied glory of alone defending Liberty, we with pleasure anticipate the future, to behold the innumerable advantages and happiness which you will procure to mankind, as we ardently wish—*A Triple Alliance, not of Crowned Heads, but of the People of America, France, and Great Britain, will give Liberty to Europe, and Peace to the World.* Dear Friends, if you combat for the general happiness of mankind, can any loss on your part, however bloody, be comparable to the glorious and unexampled advantages of being able to say, *the Universe is free! Tyrants and Tyranny are no more! Peace reigns on*

the Earth; and it is to the French that Mankind are indebted for it.

Signed by Order,
MAURICE MARGAROT, PRESIDENT.
THOMAS HARDY, SECRETARY.

This Address was unanimously ordered to be printed, and copies of it to be sent to the Armies, and to all the Departments.

The foregoing Address was sent from the Constitutional Society of *Manchester* :

From the Society of Reform in *Manchester* :

From the Society of the Revolution in *Norwich* :

From the Constitutional Independent *Whigs, Friends of the People.*

Arrêté du Conseil Exécutif, du 16 Novembre, 1792.

Paris, Nov. 16.

LE Conseil Exécutif, délibérant sur l'état actuel de la Guerre notamment dans la Belgique; considérant que nul relache ne doit être laissé aux ennemis de la République et que tous ses moyens doivent être déployés pour vaincre et détruire leurs Armées, avant qu'ils aient pu les renforcer, et se mettre en état d'attaquer de Nouveau, soit la France, soit les Contrées même ou les Armes Francoises ont porté la liberté :

Arrêté qu'en conséquence de la Délibération du 14 Octobre dernier, il sera donné des ordres au General Commandant en Chef de l'Expédition de la Belgique, de continuer à poursuivre les Armées d'ennemis partout ou on leur donneroit asile.

*Decree of the Executive Council, of the 16th November,
1792.*

Paris, Nov. 16.

THE Executive Council, deliberating upon the actual state of the War, particularly in Belgia; considering that no respite ought to be given to the enemies of the Republic, and that all its exertions ought to be used to vanquish and destroy their Armies before they are able to reinforce them, and again to attack either France, or those Countries to which the French Arms have carried Liberty: Resolves, that, in consequence of the Deliberation of the 14th October last, orders shall be given to the General Commander in Chief of the Belgic Expedition, to continue to pursue the Enemies' Armies *in all places* where refuge may be given them.

Décret de Fraternité, Séance du 19me Novembre, 1792.

LA Convention Nationale déclare, au nom de la Nation Française, qu'elle accordera Fraternité et Secours à tous les Peuples qui voudront recouvrer leur Liberté; et charge le Pouvoir Exécutif de donner aux Généraux les Ordres nécessaires pour porter Secours à ces Peuples, et défendre les Citoyens qui auroient été vexés, ou qui pourroient l'être pour la cause de la Liberté.

Il est décrété que ce Décret soit traduit et imprimé dans toutes les langues.

Decree of Fraternity, Sitting of the 19th November, 1792.

THE National Convention declare, in the name of the French Nation, that they will grant **FRATERNITY and Assistance** TO ALL PEOPLE who wish to recover their Liberty: and they charge the Executive Power to send the necessary orders to the Generals, to give assistance to such People, and to defend those Citizens who have suffered, or may suffer, in the cause of Liberty.

SERJEANT—I move that this Decree be translated and printed IN ALL LANGUAGES.

This Proposition is adopted.

*Extrait d'un Papier qui a paru dans la Chronique de Paris
le 23ieme Novembre, 1792.*

Signé CONDORCET.

ON a distingué parmi les Adresses dont on a fait lecture dans cette séance, celle d'une Société Angloise établie à Paris, mais dont les communications politiques s'étendent sur divers points de l'Angleterre. La situation actuelle de cette Empire, premier berceau de la Liberté en Europe, et l'asyle constant des hommes de mérite persécutés, lorsque les Despotes et les pretres ne leur en laissoient pour ainsi dire aucun autre, son poids dans ce qu'on appelloit la balance politique, ses relations de tout genre avec la France, meritent de fixer plus particulièrement l'attention de tous les bons esprits.

Gouverné depuis la Revolution par des hommes plus occupés du présent que de l'avenir, le Peuple Anglois n'a pas marché vers la Liberté avec l'énergie qui lui est naturelle, et qui sembloit devoir s'accroître par ses lumières. Le Ministère Anglois a cru qu'en profitant de la stagnation, ou même de la chute de notre Commerce pour
étendre

prendre celui de l'Angleterre, il opereroit dans les esprits une distraction utile à ses desseins. Il a cru que les Anglois n'étoient qu'un Peuple de negotians, et il s'est trompé. Depuis l'explosion de la Liberté en France, une fermentation sourde s'est manifestée en Angleterre, qui a plus d'une fois deconcerté toutes les opérations Ministérielles. Des Sociétés populaires se sont établies dans les trois Royaumes, et on a parlé d'un Réforme Parlementaire, comme à la fin de 1788, on parloit de la nécessité de convoquer les Etats Généraux. On fait la quantité de bons esprits qui éclairent journellement le Peuple Anglois, et donnant matière par leurs opinions à des controverses utiles, ce peuple, qui craint et desire une Revolution semblable à la nôtre, sera nécessairement entraîné par les hommes éclairés et courageux qui déterminent toujours les premiers mouvemens---*L'ouverture prochaine de la Session Parlementaire va devenir inmanquablement l'occasion des Réformes les plus instantes, telles que celles à operer dans la Représentation Nationale; DE LA A L'ETABLISSEMENT PARFAIT DE LA REPUBLIQUE*, le trajet sera d'autant moins long que les bases de la Liberté existant depuis long tems en Angleterre. PITT, en proposant peut-être des moyens conciliatoires entre la Cour et le peuple ne fera qu'irriter les esprits et hater l'effet des lumières dont il a voulu long tems arrêter le cours. Il n'y auroit même rien d'étonnant qu'après avoir tenu à beaucoup d'égards la conduite politique de NECKAR, il en éprouvât le sort.

Extract from a Paper inserted in the Chronique de Paris, of the 23d of November, 1792, and signed
CONDORCET.

Among the Addresses read in this Sitting, that of an English Society established at Paris, but whose political

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communications comprehend various points relative to England, was particularly noticed.

The actual situation of that Empire, the first cradle of Liberty in Europe, and the constant asylum of men of merit from persecution, at a time when Despots and Priests had hardly left them any other; its weight in what was called the Political Balance, its relations of all kinds with France, deserve particular attention from all enlightened minds. The English People having been governed since the time of the Revolution by men more intent upon the present than on the future, have not advanced towards Liberty with all that energy which is natural to them, and which it should seem ought to have increased with their lights. The English Ministry hoped to divert the People's attention in a manner serviceable to its views, by taking advantage of the stagnation, or rather the ruin of our Commerce, to extend that of England. They took the English for a people of merchants only; but they were mistaken. Since the explosion of Liberty in France, a hollow fermentation has shewn itself in England, and has more than once disconcerted all the Ministerial operations. Popular Societies have been established in the three kingdoms, and a Parliamentary Reform has been talked of just in the same manner as at the end of the year 1788. We (in France) talked of the necessity of calling together the States General. It is well known what a number of persons there are who think rightly, and daily enlighten the People of England, and whose opinions furnish subjects for useful disputation. This People, who at once fear and desire such a Revolution as ours, will necessarily be drawn along by those courageous and enlightened Persons, who always determine the first steps; *the opening of the Session of Parliament which approaches, will infallibly become the occasion of the Reforms which are the most urgent: such as those which regard the National Representation*

sentation—FROM THENCE TO THE ENTIRE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLIC---the transition will be the less tedious, because the foundations of Liberty have long existed in England. PITT, in proposing, as perhaps he will do, the means of conciliation between the Court and the People, will only irritate the minds, and hasten the effect of those lights, the progress of which he has for a long time endeavoured to stop. It would not indeed be astonishing, if, after having pursued in many respects the same political conduct as NECKAR, he should experience a similar fate.

*Deputation de la part de la Société Constitutionnelle de Londres, admise à la Convention Nationale de France,
le 28ième Novembre, 1792.*

On admet une Deputation de la Société Constitutionnelle de Londres.

L'Orateur de cette Deputation :

CITOYENS de France, nous sommes Députés par une Société Patriotique de Londres, pour vous féliciter en son nom des triomphes de la Liberté. Avant l'Epoque de votre Revolution, cette Société s'étoit formé dans cette espérance délicateuse. Jugez combien elle a applaudi aux admirables accords de la nation Française; le succès de vos efforts assure aux hommes vertueux que leurs travaux ne resteront plus sans récompense. Des Sociétés pareilles se forment actuellement dans toutes les parties de l'Angleterre. (On applaudit). Elles s'occupent à rechercher les abus du Gouvernement et les moyens d'y remédier. D'après l'exemple que vient de donner la France, les Révolutions vont devenir faciles. Il ne seroit pas extraordinaire que dans un court espace de tems il arrivât aussi des félicitations à une Convention Nationale d'Angleterre.

Non

Nous sommes chargés aussi de vous informer que la Société que nous représentons, a envoyé 1,000 paires de souliers, pour offrir en don patriotique aux Soldats de la Liberté. (Des applaudissemens unanimes s'élèvent et se prolongent). Ces souliers sont déjà arrivés à Calais. Il en sera envoyé plus de 1,000 paires par semaine, au moins six semaines de suite. (Même applaudissemens).

Deputation from the Constitutional Society of London, admitted to the National Convention, 28th November, 1792.

JOEL BARLOW, JOHN FROST, English Citizens, are admitted to the Bar.

One of them pronounces the following Address:

CITIZENS of France, we are deputed by a Patriotic Society in London, called the Society for Constitutional Information, to congratulate you in its name upon the triumphs of Liberty. Before the epocha of your Revolution, this Society employed itself but too long upon this important object, with little hope of success. Judge from thence of the transports of its gratitude, when, thanks to the wonderful efforts of the French Nation, it has beheld the empire of Reason extend and strengthen itself, and assure to virtuous men, by securing the happiness of their fellow creatures, a recompense to their future labours. Imnumerable Societies of the same sort are forming themselves at this moment in every part of England. The minds of all receive from this circumstance a general impression which leads them to fathom the abuses of Government, and to seek the means of remedying them—MEANS AS SIMPLE as the abuses are intricate. After the example given by France, REVOLUTIONS will become easy: Reason is about to make a rapid progress, and IT WOULD NOT BE EXTRAORDINARY,

IF IN A MUCH LESS SPACE OF TIME THAN CAN BE IMAGINED, THE FRENCH SHOULD SEND ADDRESSES OF CONGRATULATION TO A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF ENGLAND.

We are also instructed to acquaint the Convention, that the Society which we represent, has sent 1000 pair of shoes to be presented as a patriotic gift to the Soldiers of Liberty—these shoes are at Calais. The same Society will send 1000 pair a week for the next six weeks, for the same purpose.

Un des Secrétaires fait Lecture de l'Adresse de la Société Patriotique de Londres.

La Société Constitutionnelle de Londres à la Convention Nationale de France.

MANDATAIRES d'un Peuple Souverain, et Bienfaiteurs de l'espèce humaine, nous nous trouvons heureux que la Révolution Française ait acquis un degré de perfection qui nous permette de vous donner ces titres, les seuls qu'il convienne de donner à de véritables Législateurs. Les époques successives de votre Régénération politique, ont toutes ajouté quelque chose au triomphe de la Liberté. Et la glorieuse victoire du 10 Août a enfin préparé les voies à une Constitution qui, nous l'espérons de vos lumières, sera fondée sur les bases de la nature et de la raison. En considérant par quels amas d'impostures on s'est efforcé d'obscurcir l'esprit humain, vous ne pouvez être surprise de l'opposition que vous avez éprouvée de la part des Tyrans et des Esclaves. Les deux classes d'individus ont employé contre vous les mêmes moyens. Hélas ! dans la combinaison des misères humaines, l'ignorance est en même temps la cause et l'effet de l'oppression et de l'obéissance servile. Ce qui se passe journellement prouve que vous avez conquis l'opinion de tous les peuples placés près de vous sur la

Continent ; que vous avez réellement pour amie la majorité de ces nations ; que leur apparente inimitié n'est qu'une suite passagère de la violence exercée sur elles par leurs Gouvernemens, et *qu'elles n'attendent que le moment ou vos armes les auront affranchies de la nécessité de vous combattre.*

La situation des Anglois est moins déplorable. La main de l'oppression n'a pas encore osé leur ravir entièrement la Liberté d'écrire, ni vous attaquer ouvertement. Tout de feu pour la cause que vous soutenez, nous vous faisons passer nos vœux les plus ardens, pour qu'il ne manque rien à vos progrès et à votre Réussite. C'est en effet une cause sacrée ; nous la suivons avec amour, comme le gage du bonheur d'un peuple dont la nature a voulu faire notre ami, puis-qu'elle en a fait notre plus proche voisin : notre confiance s'y attache comme au lieu d'une union fraternelle entre toutes les branches de la famille humaine. Union à laquelle, si nos esperances ne sont pas vaines, nos Com-patriotes feront des premiers à concourir.

Notre Gouvernement a encore le pouvoir, peut-être la volonté de stipendier des plumes venales pour nous contredire ; mais nous croyons dans la sincérité de Cœurs exprimer les sentimens de la majorité de la Nation Angloise. Un long système d'imposture a fatigué cette nation, et de folles guerres l'ont épuisée ; elle a appris à réfléchir que ces fléaux doivent l'être à des combinaisons que la nature réproûve, qui modifient la Société d'après ses relations factices avec le Gouvernement, et qu'ils ne sont point le résultat de la disposition naturelle des Peuples sous le rapport de leur situation respective. Continuez, Législateurs, de travailler au bonheur des hommes ; nous participerons à vos bienfaits ; mais la gloire vous en appartiendra toute entière. C'est le prix de votre persévérance ; c'est la récompense de la vertu. Les étincelles de Liberté
qui

qui s'étoient conservées en Angleterre pendant plusieurs siècles, pareilles aux lueurs de l'Aurore Boréale, ne servoient qu'à rendre visible au reste de l'Europe l'obscurité qui le couvroit. Une lumière plus vive, image de la véritable Aurore, jaillit du sein de République Américaine ; mais son éloignement l'empêchoit d'éclairer notre hémisphère ; il falloit, si le génie de notre langue nous permet d'achever ce parallèle ; il falloit, disons nous, que, rayonnante de tous les feux du soleil au milieu de son cours, la Revolution Françoisé déployât soudain au milieu du centre de l'Europe le résultat pratique des principes que la philosophie avoit sémés dans l'ombre de la méditation, et que confirme partout l'expérience. Partout son influence dissipe les nuages des préjugés, révèle les secrets du Despotisme de tout genre et crée à l'homme un nouveau caractère d'autres marcheront bientôt sur vos traces dans cette carrière d'utiles changemens, et les nations, sortant de leur lethargie, s'armeront pour revendiquer les Droits de l'Homme, de cette voix tout puissante à laquelle des hommes ne sauroient résister.

(Signés)

SEMPILL, PRESIDENT.

D. ADAMS, SECRETAIRE.

JOEL BARLOW, { DEPUTES DE
J. FROST, { LA SOCIÉTÉ.

Le Président aux Députés.

Fiers Enfans d'une Nation qui a illustré les deux mondes, et donné de grands exemples à l'Univers ; vous nous apportez plus que de vœux, puisque le sort de nos guerriers a mérité votre sollicitude. Les Défenseurs de notre Liberté le feront un jour de la vôtre ; vous aviez des droits à notre estime, vous en avez à notre reconnaissance,

noissance, et les hommes libres n'oublieront jamais ce qu'ils doivent à la nation Angloise.

Les Ombres de PENN, de HAMPDEN, et de SYDNEY, planent sur vos têtes; et sans doute il approche le moment où les François iront féliciter la Convention Nationale de la Grande Brétagne. Long tems la discorde agita les flambeaux entre l'Angleterre et la France, l'Ambition des Rois fomentant des trames Nationales, vouloit faire oublier que la nature ne produit que des freres. Vos îles furent autrefois, dit-on, arrachées au Continent par un mouvement convulsif du Globe; mais la Liberté et l'Amitié se replacèrent sur les deux rives du détroit qui nous sépare donnent la main à deux Nations faites pour s'estimer et se chérir. Votre apparition au milieu de nous prépare des matériaux à l'Histoire; elle mentionnera le jour où les Citoyens d'une nation long tems rivale, au nom d'une foule de leurs compatriotes, parurent au Sein de l'Assemblée des Représentans du Peuple François; elle racontera qu'à votre aspect nos cœurs se dilaterent (nombreux applaudissemens) dites à la Société qui vous a Deputés; dites à vos Compatriotes que dans vos amis les François vous avez trouvé des hommes.

Les deux Députés vont se placer dans la salle, au milieu des applaudissemens réitérés.

On demande l'impression des deux Adresses et des Réponses du Président.

Afterwards a Secretary read the following Letter :

*The Society for Constitutional Information in London, to the
National Convention of France.*

REPRESENTATIVES of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Mankind ! *We rejoice that the French Revolution*

tion has arrived at that degree of perfection which will permit us to address you by these titles ; they are the only ones that can accord with the character of true Legislators. Every successive epocha in your political regeneration has EACH added something to the triumph of Liberty, and the GLORIOUS VICTORY of the 10th of August has finally prepared the way for a Constitution which, enlightened as you are, we trust will be established on the basis of Nature and Reason.

On considering by what a mass of impostures it has been attempted to darken the human mind, you cannot be surprised at the opposition you have met with both from Tyrants and from Slaves. The instruments used against you by each of these classes of individuals are the same ; for, alas ! in the chain of human miseries, ignorance is at once the cause and the effect of oppression and servile obedience.

The events of every day are proving, that you have gained the opinion of all the Nations placed near you on the Continent ; that a majority of each of those Nations is really your friends, that their apparent enmity is only a temporary consequence of the violence exercised against them by their Governments, and that they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the necessity of fighting against you.

*The situation of Englishmen is less to be deplored. The hand of oppression has not yet ventured completely to ravish the pen from them, or to attack you openly—*from bosoms burning with ardor in your cause, we transmit to you our warmest wishes for the full extent of its progress and success ; it is indeed a sacred cause. We pursue it with affection, as the pledge of the happiness of a people whom Nature meant to make our friends, by making them our nearest neighbours ; and we rely upon it as the bond of fraternal union with all the branches of the human race, in which union, if our expectations are
not

not vain, our Countrymen will be among the first to concur.

Our Government has still the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hireling pens to contradict us; but we believe, in the sincerity of our hearts, that we now *speaK the sentiments of a majority of the English Nation*. A long system of imposture has wearied this Nation, and foolish wars have exhausted it---it has learnt to reflect, that these scourges owe their being to those combinations which Nature disapproves, which modify society according to factitious relations with Government, and that they are not the result of the natural temper of Nations formed by the connections which arises from their respective positions. Proceed, Legislators, in the work of human happiness; the benefit will, in part, be ours, but the glory will be all your own. It is the price of your perseverance, it is the reward of virtue. *The Sparks of Liberty preserved in England for several ages, like the lights of the Aurora Borealis, served only to discover to the rest of Europe the darkness which covered it.* A stronger light, image of the real Aurora, shone forth from the bosom of the American Republic, but its distance prevented it from enlightening your hemisphere. It was necessary that the French Revolution, beaming forth in the full fervor of a meridian sun, should suddenly display in the midst of Europe the practical result of the principles which philosophy had sown in the shade of meditation, and which experience every where confirms. On all sides its influence dispels the clouds of prejudice, reveals the secrets of every kind of Despotism, and creates a new character in man.

Other Nations will soon follow your steps in this career of improvement, and, rising from their lethargy, WILL ARM THEMSELVES FOR THE PURPOSE OF CLAIMING THE
RIGHTS

RIGHTS OF MAN, with that all-powerful voice which man cannot resist.

(Signed)

SEMPILL, PRESIDENT.

D. ADAMS, SECRETARY.

JOEL BARLOW, } DEPUTIES.
J. FROST, }

The Address and the Speech of these respectable Cosmopolitans were received with *long and numerous applauses*; nothing can equal the sentiments inspired by that delightful moment, unless, perhaps, the expressions of fraternity lavished on the Deputies from the Allobroges.

The President's Answer.

Spirited Children, of a Nation which has been celebrated through the two hemispheres, and which has afforded illustrious examples to the Universe, you offer us more than your wishes, since the fate of our Warriors has been thought deserving of your anxiety.—Those who now defend our Liberty will one day become the defenders of yours. You were already entitled to our esteem, you are now entitled to our gratitude; and Freemen will never forget what they owe to the English Nation.

The shades of PENN, of HAMPDEN, and of SYDNEY, hover over your heads, AND THE MOMENT WITHOUT DOUBT APPROACHES, IN WHICH THE FRENCH WILL BRING CONGRATULATIONS TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Discord has long shaken her torch between England and France; the ambition of Kings, encouraging plots between Nations, was desirous of having it forgotten that Nature produced only brethren. Your Islands, it is said, were formerly torn from the Continent by a con-

vulsion

vulston of the earth, but Liberty and Friendship again placing themselves upon the two banks of the Channel which separates us, mutually join hands between two Nations formed to esteem and cherish each other.

Generous REPUBLICANS, your appearance among us prepares a subject for History. That day will be noticed, in which Citizens belonging to a Nation long the rival of France, appeared in the midst of the Assembly of Representatives of the French People, in the name of *a crowd of their fellow-countrymen*. It will be related, that on your appearance our hearts expanded themselves—tell the Society by whom you are deputed, tell your Fellow-countrymen, that in your friends the French, you have met with Men.

The Deputies from the Constitutional Society were admitted to the Sitting, amidst the greatest applauses.

The President of the National Convention *was directed to write a Letter of Thanks to those generous Islanders, for the patriotic gift which they had just offered to the Armies of the Republic.*

The Speech, the Address, and the Answer of the President, were ordered to be printed and sent to the 83 Departments, and TO BE TRANSLATED INTO ALL LANGUAGES.

Minutes of the Proceedings to be delivered to the Deputies, and the Patriotic Gift to be accepted, and transmitted to the Minister at War.

Députation des Anglois et Irlandois à Paris à la Convention Nationale,

Admise dans la Séance du 28ieme Nov. 1792.

Convention Nationale, Séance du 28ieme Novembre, 1792.

UNE Députation, composée d'un grand nombre d'Anglois paroît à la barre. Elle est accueillie par les Applau-

Applaudissemens unanimes et prolongés de l'Assemblée
et des Spectateurs.

L'Orateur de la Députation,

Citoyens Législateurs, les Citoyens Britanniques et
Irlandois, actuellement à Paris, animés constamment des
Principes qui ont fait naître et triompher la Révolution
Françoise, se sont réunis. Dimanche pour célébrer le
Succès des vos Armes, et ont arrêté de venir vous pré-
senter leurs sentimens de félicitation sur des événemens
qui sont d'un si favorable Augure pour les Peuples qui
voudront devenir libres. Recevez donc cet hommage pur
et fraternal des hommes qui portent dans leur cœur, tous
les principes de la Constitution, que vous allez donner à
votre patrie. Jusqu'ici les Guerres n'avoient été entre-
prises que pour satisfaire l'ambition ou l'orgueil des
despotes. Vous n'avez pris les armes que pour
faire triompher la raison et la Liberté. Nous
espérons que les troupes de la Liberté ne les poseront
que lorsqu'il n'y aura plus de Tyrans ni d'Esclaves.
[On applaudit à plusieurs reprises].

De tous ces prétendus Gouvernemens ouvrages de la
fraude des prêtres et des tyrans coalisés, il ne restera
bientôt qu'un honteux souvenir. Les Peuples, éclairés
par votre exemple, rougiront d'avoir courbé si long tems
des têtes serviles sous un joug avilissant pour la nature
humaine.

Nos vœux, Citoyens Législateurs, nous rendent im-
patients de voir le moment heureux de ce grand change-
ment, dans l'espérance qu'il ne sera pas plutôt arrivé, que
nous verrons se former une union étroite entre la Répub-
lique Françoise et les nations Angloise, Ecoissoise, et
Irlandoise; union qui ne pourroit manquer d'assurer à
l'Europe entière la jouissance des droits de l'homme, et
d'établir sur les bases les plus solides la paix universelle.

Nous ne sommes pas les seuls animés de ces sentimens,
nous ne doutons pas qu'ils ne se manifestent également
chez la grande majorité de nos Compatriotes, si l'opinion
publique

publique s'étoit consultée, comme elle devoit l'être, dans une Convention Nationale.

Quant à nous qui faisons dans ce moment notre résidence à Paris, nous faisons avec joie cette occasion, pour déclarer que dans tout le cours de la Révolution, et nonobstant le brusque départ de notre Ambassadeur, ou plutôt de l'Ambassadeur de la Cour de Londres, nous avons constamment éprouvé de la part de la Nation Française les sentimens de la cordialité la plus franche et de l'amitié la plus sincère.

Le Président à la Députation.

Citoyens du Monde ! exprimant à la République Française, dans la personne de ses Représentans vos sentimens de fraternité, vous félicitez une famille qui s'accrût hier de quatre cent mille individus que la nature avoit placés dans son Sein, que la Despotisme en avoit arrachés, et que la Liberté y a replacés, ce sont autant d'amis de plus qui vous sont acquis. Oui, vous êtes ici au milieu de vos frères ; la nature et les principes rapprochent de nous l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse, et l'Irlande. Que le cri de l'amitié rétentissent dans les deux Républiques ; les vœux que vous venez, de former pour la Liberté des Peuples se réaliseront. La race impie des oppresseurs à poursuivi la Liberté de l'homme jusqu'à l'asie de la pensée ; mais le Peuple relève son front humilié, il calcule ce qu'il est, et ce qu'il peut-être. Les principes font la guerre à la tyrannie qui tombera sous les coups de la philosophie. La royauté est en Europe ou détruite ou agonisante sur les Décombres feudaux ; et la déclaration des droits, placée à côté des trônes, est un feu dévorant qui va les consumer. [Applaudissemens.] Estimables Republicains, félicitez vous, en pensant que la fête que vous avez célébrée en l'honneur de la Révolution Française, est le prélude de la fête des nations.

La Convention vous offre les Honneurs de la Séance.
 La Députation traverse la salle au milieu des applaudissemens.

Deputies from English and Irish at Paris to the National Convention, admitted in the Sitting of the 28th Nov. 1792.

National Convention. Sitting of 28th Nov. 1792.

A Deputation, composed of a great number of English, appeared at the Bar. It was received with the unanimous and lengthened plaudits of the Assembly, and of the Spectators.

One of the Deputation spoke as follows :

Citizen Legislators, the British and Irish Citizens, actually at Paris, constantly animated by those principles which have given birth and success to the French Revolution, assembled themselves last Sunday, for the purpose of celebrating the success of your Arms; and they have determined to present to you their congratulations upon events which afford so favourable an omen to those Nations who are desirous of becoming free.—Accept then this pure and fraternal homage on the part of Men who bear in their hearts all the principles of that Constitution which you are about to give to your Country—Hitherto wars had been undertaken only for satisfying the ambition, or the pride of Despots; but you have taken up arms to make Reason and Liberty triumph. We hope that the Troops of Liberty will not lay them down while either Tyrants or Slaves remain. (Repeated applause).

The disgraceful memory of those pretended Governments, the offspring of the combined fraud of Priests and Tyrants, will, in a short time, alone remain. Nations enlightened by your example, blush at having bowed so long a period their servile heads under a yoke de-

grading to human nature. Our wishes, Citizen Legislators, render us impatient to behold the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that on its arrival we shall see an intimate union formed between the French Republic and the English, Irish, and Scotch Nations: an union which cannot but secure to all Europe the enjoyment of the Rights of Man, and establish universal peace on the most solid foundations. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments: we doubt not that they would be equally conspicuous in the great majority of our fellow-countrymen, if the public opinion were to be consulted there, as it ought in a National Convention.

As for us who now reside at Paris, we gladly take this opportunity to declare, that, during the whole course of the Revolution, and notwithstanding the abrupt departure of our Ambassador, or rather the Ambassador of the Court of London, we have constantly experienced the utmost cordiality and openness, and the most sincere friendship on the part of the French Nation.

Answer of the President to the Deputation.

— Citizens of the World! in expressing to the French Republic, through the medium of its Representatives, your sentiments of fraternity, you congratulate a family which was yesterday augmented by the addition of 400,000 individuals whom Nature had placed in its bosom, whom Despotism had torn from it, but whom Liberty has again placed there. You have gained so many more friends. Yes, you are here in the middle of your brethren; Nature and principles draw towards us England, Scotland, and Ireland. Let the cries of friendship resound through the two Republics—the wishes you have now formed for the liberty of Nations, will be realized

realized. The impious race of Oppressors has pursued the Liberty of Man even into the Asylum of Thought. But the people lift up its humiliated front, it determines its own weight, and what it may become. Principles are *waging War against Tyranny*, which will fall under the blows of Philosophy. *Royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing* on the ruins of Feodality—and the Declaration of Rights, placed by the side of *Thrones*, is a devouring fire which will consume them. [Applauses.] *Worthy Republicans*, congratulate yourselves on thinking that the Festival which you have made in honour of the French Revolution, is the prelude to the Festival of Nations.

The Convention offers you the Honours of the Sitting.

The Deputation passes through the Hall in the midst of Applauses.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, lue dans la Convention, le 29^{ieme} Nov. 1792.

IL m'est doux d'ajouter que ce Dévouement à la cause de la Republique Françoisse devient général parmi le Peuple Anglois.

Les Adresses que j'ai été chargé de faire passer à la Convention Nationale, en font une preuve frappante; hier encore, j'ai reçu d'une Société qui consacre son tems à établir l'Empire de la Liberté et de l'Egalité, et qui placeroit son bonheur à-pouvoir contribuer à l'Union de deux Peuples trop long tems ennemis, une Résolution prise dans la Séance du 20 de ce Mois, dont voici la traduction.

La Société ayant été informé que Mr. LINDSAY est dépêchée à Paris, sans aucun Caractere Diplomatique qu'il
annonce

annonce que le Ministre Anglois, reconnoît la République Française,

Résolu unanimément que cette Société devoue au mépris, à la haine, et à l'indignation de vrais Amis de la Liberté, les Agens d'une Administration corrompue, qui ont l'audace d'envoyer aux Ministres d'un Peuple libre, un certain LYNDSAY, avec un Message menaçant, insultant, dans la vue d'obtenir des conditions qui dés honoient la Majesté du Peuple François, et à lui faire abandonner la cause des Peuples qui aspirent à recevoir de lui le Bienfait de la Liberté.

Résolu que le Président de la Société invitera tous les Amis de l'Egalité toutes les Sociétés correspondantes en France, à employer leur zèle, leurs efforts, leurs sollicitations auprès du Conseil Exécutif, même le Ministre Citoyen ayant le Département des Affaires Etrangères, à ne recevoir, ni reconnoître, le Messager insolent, LYNDSAY, à refuser toute Communication avec le Cabinet Britannique jusqu'à ce qu'il ait reconnu la Souveraineté du Peuple François, et chassé de la cour l'infame CALONNE boute-feu instigateur odieux, intrigant ami du despotisme, et Agent malévole d'un parti infame.

Résolu aussi que la Société continuera ses Séances deux fois par Semaine, et que les remerciemens seront faits au Citoyen de la CHESMAYE, pour son zèle infatigable à nous procurer des lumières, et objets d'instruction.

Cet Arrêté a été pris par la Société établie à Rochester pour la propagation des droits de l'homme.

(Signé)

LE BRUN.

An Extract from a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, read in the Convention Nov. 29, 1792.

IT is pleasant to me to add, that this devotion to the cause of the French Republic becomes general among the

the English people. The addresses which I have been directed to transmit to the National Convention, are a striking proof of it. Even yesterday I received (from a Society that consecrates its time to the establishing the Empire of Liberty and Equality, and would place its happiness in being able to contribute to the union of two nations which have been too long enemies) a Resolution taken in its Sitting of the 20th of this month, of which the following is the translation :

“ The Society having been informed, that Mr. LYNDSAY is dispatched to Paris without any Diplomatic Character, which announces that the English Ministry acknowledges the French Republic ;

“ Resolved unanimously, That this Society devotes to the contempt, the hatred, and the indignation of the true Friends of Liberty, the agents of a corrupt Administration who have the audacity to depute to the Ministers of a free People, one LYNDSAY, with a threatening, insulting message, with the view of obtaining conditions which would dishonour the majesty of the French people, and make it abandon the cause of those people who are ambitious of receiving from it the gift of liberty.

“ Resolved, That the President of the Society do invite all the Friends of Equality, all the Corresponding Societies in France, to employ their zeal, their efforts, their solicitations, with the Executive Council, and in particular with the Citizen Minister for Foreign Affairs, that they will not receive or acknowledge the insolent messenger LYNDSAY, and that they will refuse all communication with the British Cabinet, until it has acknowledged the sovereignty of the French people, and driven from the Court the infamous CALONNE, that firebrand, and odious instigator, that intriguing Friend of Despotism, and malevolent Agent of an infamous Party.

“ Resolved also, That the Society shall continue its Sitzings twice a week, and that thanks shall be given to

the Citizen De la CHESNAY, for his indefatigable zeal in procuring us intelligence, and subjects of information."

This Decree has been made by the Society established at Rochester for the propagation of the Rights of Man.

(Signed)

LE BRUN.

*Extrait du Registre des Deliberations du Conseil Executif
Provisoire, du 16 Novembre, 1792, l'an 1er de la Ré-
publique.*

LE Conseil Executif, délibérant sur la conduite des armées Françaises dans les pays qu'elles occupent, spécialement dans la Belgique, un de ses membres a observé :

1. Que les gênes & entraves que, jusqu'à présent la navigation & le commerce ont soufferts, tant sur l'Escaut que sur la Meuse, sont directement contraires aux principes fondamentaux du droit naturel que tous les François ont juré de maintenir.

2. Que le cours des fleuves est la propriété commune & inaliénable des habitans de toutes les contrées arrosées par leurs eaux ; qu'une nation ne sauroit, sans injustice, prétendre au droit d'occuper exclusivement le canal d'une rivière, & d'empêcher que les peuples voisins qui bordent les rivages supérieurs, ne jouissent du même avantage ; qu'un tel droit est un reste des servitude féodales, ou du moins un monopole odieux, qui n'a pu être établi que par la force, ni consenti que par l'impuissance ; qu'il est conséquemment révocable dans tous les moments, et malgré toutes les conventions, parce que la nature ne reconnoît pas plus de peuples que d'individus privilégiés, et que les droits de l'homme sont à jamais imprescriptibles.

3. Que la gloire de République Française veut que, par-tout où s'étend la protection de ses armes, la liberté soit rétablie, & la tyrannie renversée.

4. Que

4. Que, lorsqu'aux avantages procurés au peuple Belge, par les armes Françaises, se joindra la navigation libre des fleuves, & l'affranchissement du commerce de ces provinces, non-seulement ce peuple n'aura plus lieu de craindre pour sa propre indépendance, ni de douter du défintéressement qui dirige la République, mais même que les Nations de l'Europe ne pourront dès-lors refuser de reconnoître que la destruction de toutes les tyrannies, & le triomphe des droits de l'homme, sont la seule ambition du peuple François.

Le Conseil, frappé de ces puissantes considérations, arrête que le Général, commandant en chef les armées Françaises dans l'expédition de la Belgique, sera tenu de prendre les mesures les plus précises, & d'employer tous les moyens qui sont à sa disposition, pour assurer la liberté de la navigation & des transports dans tout le cours de l'Escaut & de la Meuse.

Pour Ampliation conforme à l'original.

GROUVELLE,

Secrétaire du Conseil.

Decree of the Executive Council of France, for the free Navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse, Nov. 16, 1792.

From the Moniteur of the 22d Nov. 1792.

Extract of the Registers of the Deliberations of the Provisionary Executive Council of the 16th Nov. 1792.

The Executive Council deliberating on the conduct of the French armies in the countries which they occupy, especially in *Belgia*, one of its members observed,

1st, That the chains and trammels which till now Navigation and Commerce have suffered, as well upon the *Scheldt* as upon the *Meuse*, are directly contrary to the fundamental principles of natural law, which the French have sworn to maintain.

2dly, That the course of rivers is the common and unalienable property of all the countries watered by their banks; that a nation cannot, without injustice, pretend to the right of occupying the channel of a river, and to prevent the neighbouring nations, who inhabit the upper banks, from enjoying the same advantage; that such a right is a remnant of feudal servitude, or at least an odious monopoly, which could only be established by force, and consented to by weakness; that consequently it is revocable every moment, and in spite of all Conventions, because nature knows as little of privileged people as of privileged individuals, and the Rights of Man are always imprescriptible.

3dly, That the glory of the French Republic requires, that wherever the protection of her arms extends, Liberty should be established, and Tyranny overthrown.

4thly, That when to the advantages procured to the Belgian people by the French arms, shall be joined the free navigation of rivers, and the freedom of the commerce of these provinces, not only the people will have no farther ground to fear for their own independence, or to doubt of the disinterestedness which directs the Republic, but even the nations of Europe cannot then refuse to acknowledge, that the destruction of all Tyrannies, and the triumph of the Rights of Man, are the sole ambition of the French people.

The Council, struck with these powerful considerations, decrees, that the General in Chief commanding the French armies in the expedition of Belgia, shall be enjoined to take the most precise measures, and to employ every method which is in his power, to ensure the liberty of navigation and transports in the whole course of the *Scheldt* and the *Meuse*.

The reading of this Resolution was interrupted by numerous plaudits.

Extract from the Treaty of Munster, between Spain and Holland, signed 30th January, 1648.

ARTICLE XIV.

THE rivers of the Escaut, as also the canals of Sas, Zwyn, and other mouths of rivers disembogueing themselves there, shall be kept shut on the side of the Lords the States.

The above Treaty was confirmed by the Treaty of Westminster, between England and Holland, February 9-19, 1674. Art. 7.

Ditto between ditto, March 3, 1677-8, Art. 2. (generally.)

Windfor, between ditto,	-	-	August 17, 1685.
Whitehall, ditto,	-	-	August 16, 1689.
Utrecht, ditto,	-	-	Jan. 29, 1713.
Hague, ditto,	-	-	Jan. 4, 1717.
Aix-la-Chapelle, between Eng. Fr. and Hol.	OR.	18,	1748. Art. 3.
Paris, between Gr. Britain, France, and Spain,	Feb.	10,	1763.
Verfailles, between Great Britain and France,	Sept.	3,	1783.

*Copy of the 2d, 7th, and 28th Articles of the Definitive Treaty between the Emperor and the States General,
Signed at Fontainebleau, 8th Nov. 1785.*

ARTICLE II. Le Traité conclu à Munster le 30 Janvier, 1648, sert de base au présent Traité ; et toutes les stipulations du dit Traité de Munster seront conservées, en tant qu'il n'y aura pas été dérogé par le présent.

ART. VII. Leurs Hautes Puissances reconnoissent le plein droit de Souveraineté absolue et independante de Sa Majesté Imperiale sur toute la partie de l'Escaut de puis Anvers jusqu'au Bout de Pays de *Saßingen*, conformément à la ligne Jaune S. T. laquelle retombe en T. sur la limite du Brabant, suivant que l'indique la Carte signée par les Ambassadeurs respectifs]

Les Etats Generaux renoncent en consequence à la perception et Levée d'aucun Péage et Impôt dans cette partie de l'Escaut, à quelque titre et sous quelle forme que cela puisse être; de même à y gêner en aucune manière la Navigation et le Commerce des Sujets de Sa Majesté Impériale. Le reste du Fleuve depuis la ligne demarquée jusqu'à la Mer, dont la souveraineté continuera d'appartenir aux Etats Généraux, sera tenu clos de leur côté, ainsi que les Canaux du Sar du Swin, et autres bouches de mer y aboutissans conformément au Traité de Munster.

ART. XXVIII. Sa Majesté le Roi Tres Chrétien, ayant contribué à la réussite de l'arrangement convenu entre les hautes Parties Contractantes par son intervention amicale et sa médiation efficace et équitable, sa dite Majesté est requise par les hautes Parties Contractantes de se charger aussi de la garantie du présent Traité;

ARTICLE II. The Treaty concluded at Munster on the 30th of January, 1648, serves as the basis of the present Treaty; and all the stipulations of the said Treaty of Munster shall be preserved, so far as they shall not be set aside by the present Treaty.

ART. VII. Their High Mightinesses acknowledge the full right of absolute and independent Sovereignty in His Imperial Majesty, over every part of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the extremity of the country of *Saptingen*, agreeably to the Yellow Line S. T. which falls on T. upon the boundary of Brabant, as marked in the Map signed by the respective Ambassadors,

The States General of course renounce all right of Toll and Duty on this part of the Scheldt, under whatsoever title or form they may be, as well as hindering, in any degree, the Navigation and Commerce of the Sub-
ject

jects of His Imperial Majesty. Of the rest of the River, from the Line marked out to the Sea, the sovereignty shall remain in the States General, and shall be kept shut by them, as also the Canals of Saes, Zwyn, and other adjoining mouths of the sea, agreeable to the Treaty of Munster.

ART. XXVIII. His Most Christian Majesty having contributed to the completion of the arrangement made between the High Contracting Parties by his friendly intervention, and his effectual and just mediation, his said Majesty is requested by the High Contracting Parties to charge himself likewise with being Guarantee of the present Treaty.

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between His Majesty the King of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague the 15th of April, 1788.

ART. II. Dans le cas où une des deux hautes Parties Contractantes seroit hostilement attaquée par quelque Puissance Européenne, dans quelque Partie du Monde que ce puisse être, l'autre Partie Contractante s'engage de secourir son Allié, tant par mer que par terre, pour se maintenir et se garantir mutuellement dans la possession de tous les Etats, Domaines, Villes, Places, Franchises et Libertés, que leur appartenoient respectivement avant le commencement des hostilités.

ART. IV. Les secours mentionnés dans l'Article 2, de ce Traité d'Alliance défensive, consisteront, de la part de sa Majesté Britannique, en huit mille hommes d'infanterie, deux mille de cavalerie, douze vaisseaux de ligne, et huit frégates; et de la part des Etats Généraux, en cinq mille hommes d'infanterie, mille de cavalerie, huit vaisseaux de ligne, et huit frégates; lesquels secours respectifs seront fournis dans l'espace de deux mois après la requi-

requisition faite par la partie attaquée, et demeureront à sa disposition pendant toute la durée de la Guerre dans laquelle elle se trouvera engagée, tandis que ces secours (soit en vaisseaux et frégates, soit en troupes) seront payés et entretenus par la puissance requise, par tout où son Allié les fera agir.

ART. V. Dans le Cas où les Secours stipulés ne seroient pas suffisans pour la Defense de la Puissance requirante, la Puissance requise les augmentera successivement, selon les besoins de son Allié; Elle l'assistera même de toutes ses Forces, si les circonstances l'exigent; mais il est convenu expressément, dans tous les cas, que le contingent des Seigneurs Etats Généraux n'excèdera pas l'évaluation de Dix Mille Hommes d'infanterie, Deux Mille de cavalerie, seize vaisseaux de ligne, et seize frégates.

ART. VIII. Si les Hautes Parties Contractantes préfèrent de fournir leurs secours de troupes en argent, il sera libre de part et d'autre de la faire; et alors ce secours sera évalué à cent mille florins, courant de Hollande, par an, pour mille hommes d'infanterie, et à cent-vingt mille florins, même valeur, pour mille hommes de cavalerie, par an, ou dans la même proportion par mois.

ART. II. In case either of the High Contracting Parties should be hostily attacked by any European Power, in any part of the World whatsoever, the other Contracting Party engages to succour its Ally, as well by sea as by land, in order to maintain and guarantee each other mutually in the possession of all the dominions, territories, towns, places, franchises and liberties, which belonged to them respectively before the commencement of hostilities.

ART. IV.

ART. IV. The succours mentioned in the Second Article of this Treaty of Defensive Alliance, shall consist, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, of eight thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates; and on the part of the States General, of five thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, eight ships of the line, and eight frigates; which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain at its disposal during the whole continuance of the War in which it shall be engaged, whilst those succours (whether ships and frigates, or troops) shall be paid and maintained by the power of whom they shall be required, wherever its Ally shall employ them.

ART. V. In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the Power requiring them, the Power to whom requisition shall be made shall successively augment them, according to the wants of its Ally, whom it shall assist, even with its whole force, if circumstances should render it necessary; but it is expressly agreed, in all cases, that the contingent of the Lords the States General shall not exceed ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, sixteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates.

ART. VIII. If the High Contracting Parties prefer furnishing their succours of troops in money, they shall be at liberty on each side so to do; and then such succour shall be computed at one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of the like value, for one thousand cavalry, per annum, and in the same proportion by the month.

*Speech of M. Cambon on the State of the Finances, delivered
in the National Convention on the 13th of Nov. 1792.*

IT will be perhaps necessary to enter into some details on the opinion of JACOB DUPONT. He was constantly employed in the business of Contributions during the course of the Legislative Assembly. We were both Members of the Committee of Finances, and I agreed with him in opinion on this subject. I must observe, that the Assembly will never provide for extraordinary necessities by taxes. They amounted to 198 millions of livres (8,250,000l. sterling) last month, and 138 millions of livres (5,750,000l. sterling) for this. Now, if we impose 138 millions of livres (5,750,000l. sterling) that will make a capital of 1500 millions of livres (62,500,000l. sterling.) In the time of despotism, it never entered into the idea of Tyrants to make war with the existing Taxes alone—they borrowed. Here we are incurring great expence, to carry on a war which is to give Liberty to Europe, and ensure the happiness of future generations.

In the statement of 1793, you will distinguish the ordinary expences, for which you may provide by taxes; and the extraordinary expences, for which you will provide by alienating capitals.

To return to the opinion of the last Speaker, we ought to regret that the establishment of taxes has not produced what the Constituent Assembly expected. We have to regret, that the tax upon Patents has not been perceived; and still more to regret, that it has been imposed, because it fell upon the people. We have to regret, that the Tax upon Personal Property, so fine for those who understand Algebra, but so difficult for the Municipal Officers, who scarce know how to read, has also been established. We ought therefore to take care, that the expences should be

as light as possible, and to retrench whatever is not for the public service.

Your Committee of Finance, which does not lose a moment, which meets every day, has turned an attentive eye to the article of Expenditure. It has resolved yesterday evening, to propose to you the suppression of the tax on personal property, the tax on patents, and the diminution of 4 millions of livres (166,666l. sterling) on the Land Tax. Your Committee was well aware, that this news would be received with enthusiasm, but at the same time it ought to be economical, and in suppressing receipt, it ought also to suppress a part of expenditure. We have calculated the suppression of these imposts—I may call them immoral. We must tell the People, there is an enormous expenditure; no body would believe it; one which costs 100 millions of livres (4,166,666l. sterling) to the Republic.

Being occupied with the state of the Taxes of 1793, we ought to propose this question—"Whether the religious ought not to pay the expenditure of religion?" This expenditure for 1793, which would cost 100 millions of livres (4,166,666l. sterling), cannot be passed over in silence, because the National Treasury cannot pay it. Can your Committee, under such circumstances, have the impudence to demand the blood of the people for functions which are not public? Your Committee has considered this question under every point of view. It has asked what the Convention was? They are Mandataries who stipulate for the Society, what the whole Society cannot stipulate for itself. They ought not to fix allowances to Clergy, since every one may directly contribute his quota. Then it said, let us make the application of true principles, which require that he who works shall be paid for his labour, but paid by those who employ him. If this question has been presented abstractedly to the Convention, they would say, These

H.

Financiers

Financiers only wish to suppress; but when we shall say to the people, we diminish to you 124 millions of livres (5,166,666l. sterling); and you labourers, who pay 100 livres (4l. sterling) for the tax on Personal Property; you Inn-keepers, who pay 300 livres (12l. 10s. sterling); or 500 livres (16l. 15s. sterling) for Patents; if you confide in this Ecclesiastic, who has served the Revolution well, you will be no longer subject to an electoral body. Instead of giving to him 12 or 1400 livres (49l. 5s. or 62l. 10s. sterling), you will give to him 3 or 4000 livres (125l. or 166l. 7s. sterling.)

Thus, Citizens, instead of 300 millions of livres (12,500,000l. sterling) you will have only 200 millions of livres (8,333,333l. sterling) to impose. So many coercive measures will not be necessary; before eight days the report will be ready—a report required and expected by all Priests and all Frenchmen. But in the mean time provision must be made for the wants of the National Treasury. Instead of 198 millions of livres (8,250,000l. sterling) of expence in the last month, you will have in this but 138 millions of livres (5,750,000l. sterling.) You have received but 28 millions of livres (1,166,666l. sterling.) A payment of 110 millions of livres (4,833,333l. sterling) is therefore necessary. I demand that you will decree this ordinary payment, and that you will hear your Committee of Finance when their labours shall be completed.

Translation from the Leyden Gazette of 20th November, 1792.

IN the Gazette of *Deux Ponts* of the 18th inst. is the following Article:—"We are authorised by the Minister
 " Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at the Palatine
 " Court of *Deux Ponts*, to announce, that the Contri-
 " bution levied on the Town of *Frankfort* is about to be
 " restored to it *in toto*. The brave CUSTINE, who is
 " enchanted

“ contented with this restitution, as well as all the Ministers of the French Nation in Germany, have orders to make it publicly known, that *the National Troops only march to punish the Enemies of France, not to lay the yoke of Citizens under Contribution : and their Friends will ever see, that their justice is equal to the delicacy and loyalty of the principles which direct them.*”

Upon this it must be observed, that General CUSTINE had at first demanded 2,000,000 florins from *Frankfort* : he afterwards reduced the sum to 1,500,000 :—he again raised it to 2,000,000, offering to take the fine Artillery of the Town as 500,000 florins. One million had been paid : security had been given for the other, till an answer could be obtained by the two Deputies of *Frankfort*, sent to make representations to the National Convention. The fine Artillery of *Frankfort*, so much coveted, was not given up. The inferior classes of Citizens rejected the proffered bounty of the French General, who had ordered, that the Contribution should only be levied on such of the inhabitants as were worth 30,000 florins : and as *freedom* ought to be no less the right of Citizens of *ancient Franconia* than of the *modern Franks*, the former have *freely* expressed their ideas on the subject in the following Address :

“ My General, *in the Manifestoes* which you have published, you have addressed yourself to us, and have therein but too well shewn, that you have the best intentions in the world with respect to *the lowest Class of Citizens.*” We therefore place a perfect confidence in you. Permit us then, in our turn, to speak as openly for once, and declare to you our real sentiments.

You wish to protect us against oppression, which God be praised ! the Citizens of *Frankfort* never heard of, much less ever experienced. You wish to procure us that Liberty which we enjoy already ; so, *my General*, if you think we have been hitherto oppressed, exposed to

exactions or any evil treatment, it must have been the enemies of our welfare who wished to deceive you. Our Regents are also our fellow-citizens. Magistracy itself is chosen from amongst our fellow-workmen, and it forms a third of our whole Council. It is Citizens who are employed in the Administration of the Public Purse, *and the accounts are given in, from time to time, to the whole Body of Burghers.* The Public Charges are supported not less by the persons of the Magistracy than by ourselves: they have no other Prerogatives than merely the respect necessary for the exercise of their functions of Public Authority. Amongst us, the rich have never formed a distinct class: their easy circumstances benefit every rank, and their flourishing commerce renders us all happy. He who can and will work, finds a subsistence in every profession; the proof of which is the great number of monied men amongst us. No Country is without its poor: but amongst the numerous private establishments (which owe their existence to the liberality and riches of our Ancestors, as the support of our common welfare), our poor find such assistance, that this little State surpasses in this respect many others far more extensive and flourishing. The charity bestowed by the rich, daily, on the indigent, though done in secret, is publicly known; but we shall be silent on the subject, because they want no acknowledgment. Our taxes are very trifling; no one can complain of them. In short we are all happy and content. Our general prosperity is too intimately connected with the happy Constitution, and with the welfare of our rich citizens, for us not to interest ourselves in their favour. Thus, when *my General* exacts such considerable sums from our richest Citizens, we, the middling Class, and poor Burghers, we also are punished, inasmuch as Commerce and Manufactures must necessarily suffer from it: the more that is

~~taken~~ from them, the less we shall gain of them; so we shall all be the losers.

Thus then, *my General*, since you set yourself up as a *Defender of Liberty*, and as a *Protector of the Public Welfare*, you would be acting against your own principles, not to leave us as we are, and desist from those contributions which we have as little right to pay you as our richer Citizens, and which must tend to the ruin of our State, hitherto so happy. Moreover, we know not how to manifest more sincerely our zeal for the welfare of the French Republic, than by our ardent wish---*that she may ever find herself as happy in her Constitution as we are in ours*. Indeed, we expect from you, *my General*, to leave us in the quiet enjoyment of our Constitution, which we have hitherto regarded as an invaluable blessing, as well as the advantages which are attached to it; and thereby preserve your own glory, our highest gratitude, and universal praise; the brightest jewel in the Civic Crown, because it never tarnishes.

(Signed)

THE BURGHERS OF FRANKFORT.

Frankfort, Nov. 5, 1792.

Answer of the Minister of the Interior to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the Appeal of the Town of Frankfort upon the Maine, the 18th of Nov. 1792, the first Year of the French Republic.

THE petition of the Town of Frankfort, which you have had the attention to address to me, my dear colleague, was by no means necessary to fix my opinion upon the Appeal which her deputies have made to the National Convention—I have manifested that opinion clearly, you know; and I am well pleased in thinking that the principles

principles which serve for its basis, may equally determine the decision of the Assembly on so important a question. What has the French nation so solemnly declared? That she renounced all conquests; that she would respect the rights and properties of every people; that she would only fight against her enemies and tyrants. After the restoration of the Rights of Man, what declaration more majestic, more imposing, or more worthy of admiration, could proceed from French legislators? And could they violate it, or even render it suspicious to the eyes of the whole earth, so attentive to our motions, and to our most trifling deliberations? No, I cannot suppose it. The consciousness of our strength ought not to make us forget our sentiments of glory; I say more---of justice. What is the Town of Frankfort?---a free State, but dependent by her position, by her political connections, and by her own weakness. As an individual part of the Germanic Body, she could not resist the voice of the majority of the Diet, which obliged her to contribute her contingent for the war; and if this act, the most serious with which she can be reproached, can neither be imputed to hostile dispositions, nor to sentiments injurious to our Revolution; of what weight can appear to the eyes of a great Nation the pitiful and capitious accusations raised against that Republic for pretended ill offices towards us?

It is said, she has afforded an asylum to the Emigrants; that she has suffered them to raise Recruits; that she has furnished the Princes with money; that she has permitted an Aristocratical Gazette within her walls; that she has discredited our Assignats. To all which imputations are opposed, her reiterated prohibitions against recruiting; her prosecutions of the recruiters; her refusal to sell Artillery to the French Princes, or to lend them 200,000 florins on some diamonds; her resistance to the requisition of the Grand Bailiwick of Ettenheim, to publish an ordonnance

ordonnance against the Mayor and Town Clerk of Strasbourg, out of her respect for an authority constituted and lawfully established by the French constitution: her having seized pamphlets in favour of a Counter-revolution, and of which the liberty of the Fair seemed to authorize the sale; and would have been a most plausible pretext for Magistrates less animated with the desire of removing every thing which might wound the French nation; every thing which did not correspond with the system of neutrality she had adopted.

But, add the Representatives of Frankfort, if some individuals have, by their commercial or criminal speculations, been the abettors of these wrongs, ought a whole city to be accused and punished for it, which, although obliged to keep on good terms with the Despots of the Empire and of Prussia, has nevertheless ever shewn the most unequivocal disposition to maintain the most perfect neutrality: a neutrality in which she intended to persist, whatever might be the resolution of the Diet respecting the war of the empire; and who has merited, by her friendly conduct towards France, the thanks of the National Assembly.

Passing from these reproaches (of which the People of Frankfort exculpate themselves in so peremptory a manner), to the examination of the conduct held by them on the approach of our Armies; it seems to me, that it ought to have totally effaced the unfavourable impressions which circumstances, ill-understood, might have raised against them. They came out of their Town, and presented us, fraternally, the symbol of Peace and Friendship, and every hospitable assistance.—No warlike preparation announced on their part, either the design to resist us, or to protect our enemies;—they were in that state of neutrality which *becomes* a Free Town, who may be occupied or influenced by, but who will not herself use any influence respecting those political discussions in

which her sentiments do not induce her to participate. Let us then compare this conduct of the Town of Frankfort with that of the different Towns which our Armies have occupied, or conquered, and let us see, if amongst them, Frankfort is not the most worthy our regard.—Geneva, for instance, who, without being attacked or menaced, in spite of our ties of friendship, and our reiterated assurances to respect them and her Independence, thinks proper to assume the insulting attitude of Defence; introduces Foreign Troops within her walls, and perfidiously demands the assistance of the Cantons, with whom she compromises our connection and our dignity. She is negociated and treated with—We forget that she has been unmindful of our good faith; that she has provoked our indignation—Have we put her under Military Contribution?—No. Have her Deputies hastened to the bosom of the National Convention, fully confident of its Justice and its Wisdom?—No: they have remained within their Walls at the head of a faction which cherishes our Enemies; they have favoured and protected the flight of a General suspected, attainted by a Decree of Accusation: We will show ourselves magnanimous—we have openly sworn it: let us begin then by being equitable; let us conquer hearts by love, by our virtues, by the sublimity of our principles. Let us only punish our Enemies by enlightening them, by inspiring them with sentiments of Independence, of Liberty and of Equality. Let us engrave upon the Porticos of the Temple of our Laws, these Maxims of Thomas Paine, so worthy of our Revolution—“Let us commence our new era by displaying grandeur and generosity; let us think only on maintaining Union, and on gaining hearts in order to ensure our success.”

Such, my dear Colleague, are the reflections which the perusal of the Paper you have communicated to me, have caused me to express, even in spite of myself. You will

Decret de la Convention Nationale par lequel la Savoie fut annexée à la France, dans la séance du 27 Novembre, 1792.

LA Convention Nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport de ses Comités de Constitution et Diplomatique, et avoir reconnu que le voeu libre et universel du Peuple Souverain de la Savoie, emis dans les Assemblées de Communes, est de s'incorporer à la République Française ; considérant que la nature, les rapports, et les entouts respectifs, rendent cette Union avantageuse aux deux Peuples, déclare quelle accepte la Réunion proposée, et que de ce moment la Savoie fait partie intégrante de la République Française.

ART. I. La Convention Nationale décrète, que la Savoie formera provisoirement un quatrevingt quatrième département, sous le nom de Département du Mont Blanc.

ART. II. Les Assemblées Primaires et Electorales se formeront incessamment suivant la forme des lois établies, pour nommer leurs Députés à la Convention Nationale.

ART. III. Ce Département aura provisoirement dix Députés à la Convention Nationale.

ART. IV. Il sera envoyé dans le Département du Mont Blanc quatre Commissaires pris dans le Sein de la Convention Nationale pour procéder à l'Organisation provisoire de ce Département.

Decree by which Savoy was united to France, in the Sitting of the 27th of November, 1792.

THE National Convention, after having heard the Report of its Constitutional and Diplomatic Committees, and having recognized it to be the free and universal wish of the Sovereign People of Savoy, manifested

presented in its Assemblies of the *Commons*, to incorporate itself with the French Republic; considering that Nature, and their respective relations and interests, render this union advantageous to the two Nations, declares its acceptance of the proposed union, and that, from this moment, *Savoy* forms an integral part of the French Republic.

ARTICLE I. The National Convention decrees, that *Savoy* shall provisionally form an Eighty-fourth Department, under the name of the Department of *Mont Blanc*.

ART. II. The Primary and Electoral Assemblies shall constitute themselves, according to the established Laws, without delay, in order to name Deputies to the National Convention.

ART. III. This Department shall provisionally send Ten Deputies to the National Convention.

ART. IV. Four Commissaries, taken from the Convention, shall be sent to the Department of *Mont Blanc*, to proceed to the organizing this Department provisionally.

Convention Nationale, Decembre 15.

LA Convention nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport de ses Comités de finances, de la guerre et diplomatique réunis, fidelle au principe de la souveraineté des peuples, qui ne lui permet pas de reconnaître aucune institution qui y porte atteinte, et voulant fixer les régies à suivre par les généraux des armées de la République dans les pays où ils portent les armes, décrète ce qui suit :

ART. I. Dans les pays qui sont ou qui seront occupés par les armées de la République Française, les généraux proclameront sur le champ, un nom de la Nation

Nation Française, l'abolition des impôts ou contributions existans, la dime, les droits féodaux fixes ou casuels, la servitude réelle ou personnelle, les droits de chasse exclusifs, la noblesse, et généralement tous les privilèges. Ils déclareront au peuple qu'ils lui apportent paix, secours, fraternité, liberté et égalité.

ART. II. Ils proclameront la souveraineté du peuple, et la suppression de toutes les autorités existantes; ils convoqueront de suite le peuple en assemblées primaires ou communales pour créer et organiser une administration provisoire, ils feront publier, afficher et exécuter dans la langue ou idiôme du pays, dans chaque Commune, la proclamation annexée au présent décret.

ART. III. Tous les agens et officiers de l'ancien gouvernement, ainsi que les individus ci-devant réputés nobles, ou membres de quelques corporations ci-devant privilégiées, seront, mais pour la première élection seulement, inadmissibles aux places d'administration, ou de pouvoirs judiciaires provisoires.

ART. IV. Les généraux mettront de suite, sous la sauvegarde et protection de la République Française, tous les biens meubles et immeubles appartenant au fief, au Prince, à ses auteurs et adhérens et satellites volontaires, aux établissemens publics, aux corps et communantes laïcs et religieux; ils en feront, sans délai, dresser un état détaillé, qu'ils enverront au conseil exécutif, et ils prendront toutes les mesures qui sont en leur pouvoir, afin que ces propriétés soient respectées.

ART. V. L'administration provisoire nommée, par le peuple sera chargée de la surveillance et régie des objets mis sous la sauvegarde et protection de la République Française: elle fera exécuter la loi en vigueur relative au jugement des procès civils et criminels, à la police et, à la sûreté publique; elle sera chargée de régler et faire

payer les dépenses locales et celles qui seront nécessaires pour la défense commune; elle pourra établir des contributions, pourvu toutefois qu'elles ne soient pas supportées par la partie indigente et laborieuse du peuple.

ART. VI Dès que l'administration provisoire sera organisée, la Convention nationale nommera des commissaires pris dans son sein, pour aller fraterniser avec elle.

ART. VII. Le conseil exécutif nommera aussi des commissaires nationaux qui se rendront de suite sur les lieux, pour se concerter avec l'administration provisoire, nommée par le peuple, sur les mesures à prendre pour la défense commune et sur les moyens à employer pour le procurer les habillemens, subsistances nécessaires aux armées de la République, et pour acquitter les dépenses qu'elles ont faites et feront pendant leur séjour sur leur territoire.

ART. VIII. Les commissaires nationaux nommés par le pouvoir exécutif provisoire, lui rendront compte tous les 15 jours de leurs opérations; ils y joindront leurs observations; le conseil exécutif les approuvera ou les rejettera, et en rendra de suite compte à la Convention.

ART. IX. L'administration provisoire nommée par le peuple, et les fonctions de commissaires nationaux cesseront aussitôt que les habitans, après avoir déclaré la souveraineté du peuple, la liberté et l'indépendance, auront organisé une forme de gouvernement libre et populaire.

ART. X. La République Française rendra compte au Gouvernement qui sera établi, des dépenses subies par la première pour la défense commune, et des sommes qu'elle pourroit avoir reçues. La République Française arrangera les moyens pour les sommes qui pourront encore être dues; et, pourvu que l'intérêt commun rendra indispensable le séjour ultérieur des Armées de

la République sur la territoire étranger, la République fera les dispositions requises à leurs besoins.

ART. XI. La Nation Française annonce, qu'elle traitera en ennemis ceux qui, rejetant ou renonçant la liberté et l'égalité, ont envie de conserver leur Prince et états privilégiés, ou d'entrer avec eux en accord. La Nation promet et s'engage de ne pas mettre bas ses armes, jusqu'à la rétablissement de la souveraineté et la liberté du peuple, la territoire de quel les armées Françaises entrèreront; et qu'elle ne consentira à aucun accommodement ou traité avec les Princes et les gens privilégiés qui seront ainsi depourvus, et avec lesquels la République est en guerre.

National Convention, December 15, 1792.

THE National Convention, after having heard the Report of the United Finance, Military, and Diplomatic Committees, faithful to the Principles of the Sovereignty of the People, *which will not permit them to acknowledge any of the Institutions militating against it,* and willing to fix the Regulations to be observed by the Generals of the Armies of the Republic, in those Countries to which they may carry their arms, decree—

ARTICLE I. In those Countries which are or shall be occupied by the Armies of the French Republic, the Generals shall immediately proclaim, in the Name of the French Nation, the abolition of all the existing Imposts or Contribution; of Tythes; of all Feudal and Manorial Rights, fixed or casual; of all real or personal services; of the exclusive right of Hunting and Fishing; of State Labour; of the Nobility; and generally, all Privileges:—they shall declare to the People, that they bring them Peace, Succours, Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality.

ART.

ART. II. They shall proclaim the Sovereignty of the People, and the Suppression of all existing Authorities; they shall then convoke the People in Primary or the Commonalty Assemblies, to create and organize a Provisionary Administration; they shall cause the present Decree, and the Proclamation hereto annexed, to be published and affixed in the language or dialect of the Country, and to be executed without delay in every District.

ART. III. All the Agents and Officers of the former Government, Military or Civil, as well as the Individuals lately reputed Noble, and the Members of any Corporation lately privileged, shall, for the first Election only, be inadmissible to any Place in the Provisional Administration or judicial Power.

ART. IV. The Generals shall forthwith place under the protection and safeguard of the French Republic, all property, moveable or immoveable, belonging to the Treasury, to the Prince, to his voluntary Abettors, Adherents, or Attendants; to the Bodies and Communities, both Civil and Religious: they shall cause to be drawn up, without delay, an exact state thereof, which they shall transmit to the Executive Council; and they shall take every measure in their power to cause such property to be respected.

ART. V. The Provisional Administration, appointed by the People, shall be charged with the inspection and management of all things put under the safeguard and protection of the French Republic; they shall cause the Laws in force to be executed, which relate to the determination of Civil and Criminal Suits, to the Police, and Public Safety; they shall be charged with the Regulation and Payment of the local pences, and such as shall be necessary for the common Defence; they shall establish Contributions, provided always that they be not levied on the indigent and laborious class of the People.

ART.

ART. VI. As soon as the Provisional Administration shall be organized, the National Convention shall name Commissaries from their own Body, to enter into fraternity with them.

ART. VII. The Executive Council shall also name National Commissaries, who shall afterwards repair thither, for the purpose of concerting with the Provisional Administration named by the People, upon the measures to be taken for the common Defence, and upon the means to be employed for procuring the Clothing and Subsistence necessary for the Armies of the Republic, and to discharge the Expences which they have incurred, or shall incur, while they remain upon their Territories.

ART. VIII. The Commissaries named by the Provisional Executive Power, shall transmit to them, every fifteen days, an account of their proceedings, together with their observations subjoined: The Executive Council shall approve or reject them, and afterwards communicate the same to the Convention.

ART. IX. The Provisional Administration named by the People, and the Functions of the National Commissaries shall cease, as soon as the Inhabitants, after having declared the Sovereignty, Liberty, and Independence of the People, shall have organized a free and popular Form of Government.

ART. X. The French Republic shall deliver to the Government which shall be established, an account of the expences which the former shall have incurred in the common defence, and of the sums which it may have received. The French Republic shall make Arrangements for what may remain due; and, in case the common interest should then require the further continuance of the Troops of the Republic on the Foreign Territory, the Republic shall make the necessary Arrangements for their subsistence.

ART

ART. XI. The French Nation declare, *That it will treat as Enemies, the People, who, refusing or renouncing Liberty and Equality, are desirous of preserving their Prince and privileged Casts, or of entering into an accommodation with them.* The Nation promises and engages not to lay down its Arms, until the Sovereignty and Liberty of the People, on whose Territory the French Armies shall have entered, shall be established; and not to consent to any Arrangement or Treaty with the Princes and privileged Persons so dispossessed, with whom the Republic is at War.

Considerations générales sur l'esprit et les principes du décret du 15 Décembre, en tête des Instructions générales données aux commissaires nationaux nommés par le conseil exécutif, en conformité de ce décret.

C'est en vain que nos ennemis tenteraient de faire prendre le change à l'Europe entière sur les motifs qui ont entraîné la République Française à porter la guerre hors de son territoire. Leur calomnie est aussi manifeste que notre conduite. Il est évident que nous ne sommes point guidés par l'ambition turbulente des conquêtes; nous ne voulons dominer, ne affermir aucun peuple; plus que jamais nous respectons l'indépendance des Nations. Ce n'est pas même (comme ils ont affecté de le répandre), ce n'est pas la passion téméraire de propager au-delà de nos limites nos principes et nos lois, qui précipita nos armées dans les contrées environnantes; l'aveuglement d'un enthousiasme sectaire, une vaine fureur de prosélytisme ne transporte point une nation toute entière, une nation à qui la raison humaine doit ses plus rapides progrès, chez qui tout fanatisme est en horreur, fût-ce même celui de la philosophie.

Non; l'univers et la postérité la reconnaîtront, la guerre injuste que les despotes ligués ont les premiers

préparée contre la France, est la seule origine de la guerre légitime et sacrée que nous poursuivons contre eux, dans la seule vue d'assurer notre indépendance, et d'empêcher de nouvelles aggrèsions.

Si ces despotes eussent respecté la souveraineté de la Nation ; s'ils n'eussent pas rassemblé leurs armées pour envahir la terre libre, et, comme le prouvent leurs manifestes féroces, pour la réduire au plus honteux esclavage, qui pourrait douter que la République Française, contente d'avoir affermi sa liberté, ne se fût reposée du progrès de la vérité autour d'elle, sur le tems, sur l'efficacité de son exemple, sur l'avancement des connaissances humaines, sur la dépravation toujours croissante, et l'intolérable tyrannie de gouvernement absolu.

Mais du moment que les Français ont été réduits à repousser la violence par la force, il n'a pas plus suffi pour eux de vaincre et de disperser leurs ennemis à travers les pays même de leur domination ; ils ont du encore inviter les habitans de ces pays à s'affranchir comme eux-mêmes, à se donner, en légitimes souverains, un gouvernement libre, à se régénérer enfin par un changement universel et conforme aux principes de l'Egalité et de la Liberté. Autrement les Français eussent été forcés de les traiter en ennemis véritables, en satellites volontaires, en complices des tyrans.

Et d'ailleurs la plupart des peuples, dont nos armées occupent aujourd'hui le territoire, dès long tems demandaient leur délivrance au Ciel et à la République Française. Ils ont été exaucés. Il est tems aujourd'hui que cette libération se consolide ; et comment ? par une véritable révolution. Et à qui appartient-il de la faciliter et de l'accélérer en faveur de ces peuples, si ce n'est à la République Française ?

C'est là le principal objet du décret rendu par la Convention Nationale, le 15 Décembre dernier. Le choix
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des dispositions que prescrit cette loi, a été dirigé par des vues qui ne sont pas moins grandes et moins judicieuses.

Malheur au peuple qui essaiera de s'affranchir, s'il ne rompt au même instant toutes ses chaînes ! Tous les droits sortent d'une seule et même souche ; qui n'en fait que les branches, ne possède qu'un usu fruit précaire, et n'est point en effet rentré dans la propriété, de son domaine naturel. En un mot, pour qu'une révolution politique soit salutaire et durable, il la faut rapide et cursive ; il faut qu'elle s'opère tout à la fois dans les hommes et dans les choses.

Qui l'a plus que nous éprouvé ? Pourquoi trop souvent fûmes-nous forcés d'avoir recours au remède violent et périlleux des insurrections ? Pourquoi la Liberté n'a-elle pu s'asseoir parmi nous que teinte de sang et entourée de discordes ? Pourquoi les tyrans de l'Europe eurent-ils le tems et l'audace de conjurer, de s'armer contre la Nation libre ? Pourquoi le crédit, le commerce et la prospérité publique ont-ils reçu des blessures si profondes ?

C'est que notre révolution timide et graduelle laissait à plusieurs tyrannies des points d'appui qui les soutinrent dans la secousse générale. C'est parce qu'à côté de la souveraineté nationale subsistèrent des autorités usurpatrices qui l'avaient long-tems foulée aux pieds. C'est parce que notre confiance imprudente voulut faire des anciens serviteurs du despotisme les ouvriers de la Liberté naissante. C'est parce qu'enfin nous laissâmes, par des menagemens et des conciliations funestes, revenir en doute la réalité de la volonté nationale, l'existence de la Nation elle-même.

Ainsi donc, quoique l'art d'organiser les sociétés soit encore dans son enfance, *l'art d'organiser les révolutions est du moins plus avancé*. Grâces en soient rendus à cette vaste expérience que nous venons de faire à nos périls et au profit du genre humain !

C'est

C'est un fait reconnu. Toute révolution veut une puissance provisoire qui ordonne les *mouvements désorganisateur*s, qui fasse en quelque sorte *démolir avec méthode toutes les parties de l'ancienne constitution sociale*, qui remplaçant momentanément les autorités renversées, empêche que la *hideuse anarchie* ne s'empare du tems qui doit s'écouler entre la destruction et la reconstruction politique.

Tel doit être le *pouvoir révolutionnaire*.

A qui peut-il appartenir, si ce n'est aux Français, dans les pays où la poursuite de leurs ennemis entraîna leurs armes ? *Pourraient-ils avec sécurité le laisser exercer à d'autres ?*

La République Française a donc dû se charger de cette sorte de *tutelle* des peuples qu'elle fait naître à la Liberté ; tutelle temporaire, et dont la Convention nationale a elle-même fixé positivement le terme.

La loi du 15 Décembre institue en quelque sorte ce pouvoir ; elle en trace les règles ; elle en établit les procédés : telle est son intention bienfaisante ; tel est son but principal.

Cependant elle a un second objet, qu'il convient aussi d'indiquer.

La guerre que nous avons entreprise, *intéresse tous les peuples*. N'eussent-ils pas même besoin de la Liberté, ils ont besoin de la paix. Or la paix ne peut arriver que par *notre destruction entière*, et dans ce cas, la guerre peut durer long tems ; ou par des victoires successives et des mesures qui désarment à jamais et tarraissent les despotes ; et ce qui vient de se passer annonce qu'on peut ainsi accélérer le terme du fléau.

Que les peuples dont il s'agit, fassent donc cause commune avec la République Française, s'ils veulent rappeler promptement la paix ; qu'ils s'unissent à nos efforts ; qu'ils nous *aident de leurs moyens* ; ils partagent nos risques ; ils partageront nos avantages ; qu'ils partagent donc nos sacrifices ;

sacrifices; qu'ils entrent du moins en quelque compensation des avances ruineuses que nous avons faites pour l'intérêt précieux et universel de la Liberté des hommes.

Aussi le décret du 15 Décembre établit-il les bases de cette communauté d'intérêts, de secours et de dédommagemens entre la République Française et les peuples affranchis par ses armes.

Tel est l'esprit, tels sont les principes élémentaires de la loi, et c'est sur ces principes que les commissaires nationaux doivent en diriger l'exécution.

General Considerations on the spirit and principles of the Decree of the 15th of December, placed at the head of the general instructions, delivered to the National Commissioners by the Executive Council, in conformity to that Decree.

OUR enemies attempt in vain to misrepresent to all Europe the motives which have impelled the French Republic to wage war out of its own territory. Their calumny is as manifest as our conduct. It is evident that we are not actuated by the turbulent ambition of conquests: we do not wish either to govern or subjugate any nation; and we respect more than ever the independence of all nations. It is not even (as they have taken care to spread abroad), it is not the intemperate passion of propagating beyond our own limits our laws and our principles, which precipitates our armies into the surrounding countries: the blindness of an enthusiastic sectarism, a vain fury of making proselytes, does not guide and actuate a whole nation; a nation to which human reason owes its most rapid progress, and which shudders at every fanaticism, even that of philosophy.

No, the universe and posterity will acknowledge that the unjust war which leagued despots have aggressively waged

waged against France, is the sole origin of the legitimate and sacred war we pursue against them, with the sole view of fixing our independence, and preventing new aggressions.

Had these despots respected the National Sovereignty ; had they not assembled their armies to invade our free territory, and as is proved by their ferocious manifestoes, to reduce it to the vilest of slaveries, who could then have doubted that the French Republic, content with having consolidated her liberty, would have committed the progress of the truth around her, to time, to the efficacy of her example, to the advancement of human knowledge, and to the constantly increasing depravity and intolerable tyranny of absolute government.

But from the moment the French were driven to repel violence by force, it was no longer enough for them to subdue and disperse their enemies in the countries the possession of which they held ; it was also necessary for them to invite the inhabitants of these countries to become free as themselves, to give themselves, as legitimate Sovereigns, a free government ; and lastly to effect their regeneration by an universal change conformable to the principles of Liberty and Equality. The French would otherwise have been obliged to treat them as real enemies, as voluntary satellites, as the accomplices of tyrants.

The greater part of the Nations whose territory our Armies now occupy, had besides for a long time demanded their deliverance, had demanded it of Heaven and the French Republic. They have been heard---and it is now time that this their deliverance should be consolidated. In what way is this to be effected ? by a true Revolution : and to whom does it belong to facilitate and accelerate this consummation in favour of these Nations, unless it be the French Republic ?

This is the principal object of the Decree framed by the Nations

National Convention on the 15th of December last. The choice of the dispositions prescribed by this law, has been guided by views equally important and judicious.

Unhappy will that Nation be which, whilst it shall strive to liberate itself, shall not at the same instant break all its chains! All rights spring from one and the same stock; and he who seizes the branches only, possesses merely a precarious enjoyment of the fruit, and is not effectively restored to the property of his natural domain. In a word, to the end that a political Revolution may be salutary and durable, it must be rapid and complete; it is necessary that it shall at one and the same time operate every thing both on men and things.

Who, more than ourselves, has felt this truth? Why have we too often been obliged to have recourse to the violent and perilous remedy of insurrection? Why has Liberty not been able to fix her residence among us, without being stained with blood, and surrounded by discords? Why had the Tyrants of Europe the time and audacity to conspire and arm against our Free Nation? Why have our credit, our commerce, and our prosperity received such deep wounds?

It is because our timid and gradual Revolution left to several Tyrannies certain points of support, which sustained them in the general convulsion. It is because usurping authorities, by which it had for a long time been oppressed, subsisted beside the National Sovereignty. It is because our imprudent confidence wished to convert the ancient servants of Despotism, into the labourers of growing Liberty. It is, lastly, because, by fatal forbearances and conciliations, we allowed to be brought into doubt the reality of the National Will, and the existence of the Nation itself.

Thus then, notwithstanding the art of Organizing Societies be still in its infancy, *the art of organizing Revolutions*

volutions is at least more advanced. We ought to return thanks for it to that vast experience we have just made at our own peril, for the profit of the Human race!

This is an acknowledged fact. Every revolution requires a provisional power which orders *its disorganizing movements*, which in a manner brings about *the methodical demolition of all the parts of the ancient social constitution*, which, replacing in a moment the authorities overturned, prevents *an hideous anarchy* from seizing on the time which must elapse between political destruction and political re-construction.

Such should be *the revolutionary power*.

To whom can it belong unless to the French, in the countries into which the pursuit of their enemies has carried their arms? *Can they with security allow it to be exercised by others?*

The French Republic has therefore felt it a duty to charge herself with this sort of *tutorship* of the nations she gives to liberty; a temporary tutorship, the term of which *the National Convention itself* has positively fixed.

The law of the 15th of December has in some manner instituted this power; it traces its regulations, and establishes its procedures. Such is its benevolent intention, such is its principal aim.

It has, however, a secondary object, which it is also necessary to point out.

The war we have undertaken *interests all nations*. Had they not even need of liberty, they would have need of peace. *Now peace cannot be brought about unless by these two cases: Either by our full and entire destruction*, in which case the war may continue a long time, or by our successive victories or measures, which may for ever disarm and overthrow despots. What has recently happened announces that the termination of this scourge may be accelerated in the latter way.

Let the nations in question therefore make one com-

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mon cause with the French Republic, if they wish to bring about a speedy restoration of peace. Let them unite themselves to our efforts; let them assist us with their means. They partake of our risks; they shall partake of our advantages. Let them share in our sacrifices; let them at least enter on *some compensation of the ruinous advantages we have made for the precious and universal interest of the liberty of mankind.*

Thus does the decree of the 15th of December establish the basis of this commonalty of *interests*, of *succours*, and *indemnities*, between the French Republic, and the nations freed by her arms.

Such is the spirit, such are the elementary principles of the law, and on these principles the National Commissioners are to direct its execution.

*Extraits * du Rapport fait par Brissot, dans la Séance du Samedi 12 Janvier, sur les Dispositions du Gouvernement Britannique.*

VOUS avez renvoyé à vos Comités réunis, diplomatique et de marine, et depuis à votre Comité de lésénie générale, les diverses notifications qui vous ont été faites par le ministre des affaires étrangères, relativement à la conduite du cabinet Britannique envers la République Française. Votre Comité les a examinées avec la plus grande attention, et, après une profonde discussion, il est convaincu.

1. Que les griefs du cabinet Britannique contre la France n'ont aucuns fondemens;

* We refer the Reader to the original in the *Moniteur* of the 15th of January, the whole of which, on account of its length, we have not inserted.

2. Que

2. Que la République Française, au contraire, à des plaintes très-fondées à élever contre la Cour de Saint James.

3. Qu'après avoir épuisé tous les moyens pour conserver la paix avec la Nation Anglaise, l'intérêt et la dignité de la République Française exigent que vous créétiez les mesures les plus rigoureuses pour repousser l'aggression du cabinet de St. James.

Il importe que la Nation Anglaise, qui n'est qu'égarée par son gouvernement, soit promptement désabusée. C'est par respect pour la *fraternité qui nous unit*, que nous devons lui peindre avec franchise les manœuvres de son gouvernement ; et si nous sommes forcés de la traiter en ennemie, il importe que chaque Français ait la pleine conviction qu'il obéit à la justice en la combattant. Les impressions excitées par notre révolution en Angleterre, n'ont pas été les mêmes pour la Nation, pour le Parlement, pour la Cour. La Nation a témoigné d'abord de la joie, le Parlement de l'inquiétude, et la Cour de l'effroi. L'opinion bien manifestée de la Nation Anglaise, a forcé le ministère à garder le silence, et son intérêt l'a engagé à *observer une exacte neutralité* dans la guerre qui s'est élevée entre la France, l'Autriche, et la Prusse. Il y trouvait une double avantage ; la Nation s'enrichissait au milieu de ces combats, dont elle était simple spectatrice ; et le ministère actuelle se consolidait par la prospérité du commerce et la stabilité de la paix : c'est pour obéir à ce double intérêt, que le cabinet de St. James a plusieurs fois protesté de son intention d'observer scrupuleusement la neutralité envers la France ; et en effet, *elle l'a été jusqu'à l'immortelle journée du 10 Août.*

La suspension du Roi des Français a tout à coup changé les dispositions apparentes de la Cour d'Angleterre ; elle a, le 17 Août, rappelé son ambassadeurs, sous le prétexte futile que les lettres de créance n'étaient que pour se rendre auprès du Roi des Français, comme s'il n'eut pas été

facile d'expédier de nouvelles lettres de créance. Le ministre Dundas ajoutait que ce rappel était plus conforme aux principes de neutralité de la Cour d'Angleterre, comme s'il y avait eu *quelque rapport entre la neutralité sur la guerre, l'événement du 10 Août, et le rappel de Lord Gower*. Henri Dundas protestait encore de la ferme résolution du cabinet de St. James, de ne point s'immiscer dans le gouvernement de la France ; et cependant il rappelle un ambassadeur sous le prétexte de la révolution du 10 Août ? N'était ce pas évidemment s'immiscer dans le gouvernement intérieur de la France, puisque c'était enoncer la désapprobation de ses opérations. Si le cabinet Anglais avait eu quelque respect pour l'indépendance du peuple, il aurait au moins dû renvoyer un ambassadeur après l'ouverture de la Convention Nationale ; car du moment que tous les départemens avaient nommé des députés à cette Convention, il était évident que, par cette conduite, ils donnaient une approbation formelle aux opérations de l'Assemblée législative, et par conséquent à la suspension du roi. Le cabinet de St. James avait-il fondé son refus sur l'abolition de la royauté, prononcée par cette Convention, à l'ouverture même de ses séances ; mais la Convention étant revêtue de pouvoirs illimités, a pu abolir la royauté, et lui substituer le gouvernement républicain. Le cabinet de St. James n'a pu refuser de correspondre avec le nouveau pouvoir exécutif de France, sans violer le principe qu'il avait proclamé lui-même de l'indépendance des Nations, sans déclarer qu'il entendait s'immiscer dans le gouvernement intérieur de la France.

Ces Ministres prevoient, dis-je, que cette République pouvait se consolider, et porter le flambeau des révolutions par toute l'Europe.

Une négociation amicale s'est établie dans le Cours du mois d'Octobre et Novembre, alors le ministère Anglais ne se plaignait pas même de l'ouverture de l'Escaut, parce qu'alors la Nation Anglaise, enthousiasmée des suc-

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cès des Français, ne voyait dans cette ouverture de l'Escaut, qu'un hommage rendu aux principes.

Le ministère Anglais se plaignait du décret du 19 Novembre, qui lui paraissait exciter tous les peuples à la révolte, qui semblait promettre un secours efficace au premier mécontent qui se montrerait en Angleterre; et le conseil exécutif lui donnait sur ce décret une explication entièrement conforme à ce qu'il désirait; et c'est une circonstance qu'il importe de remarquer. Le ministère Anglais avait indiqué à un des agens de France à Londres, les termes dans lesquels l'interprétation de ce décret devait être connue, pour rassurer pleinement le cabinet de St. James et le parlement; et quoique cet agent n'eut pas encore pu transmettre cette explication au Conseil l'exécutif, il avait été prévenu par la note du ministre des affaires étrangères, qui s'y rapportait dans tous les points.

Le ministère Anglais se plaignait encore des emissaires de la propagande des apôtres secrets que le conseil exécutif envoyait, disait-il, en Angleterre, pour y *prêcher la révolte*, et le ministre des affaires étrangères repoussait publiquement dans cette assemblée ces imputations outrageantes pour le ministre d'un peuple libre, et il observait avec raison qu'il serait extravagant de prodiguer les trésors de l'Etat pour créer des événemens qui, s'ils doivent arriver, seront l'ouvrage de la raison; et le ministère Anglais convenait lui-même que cette propagande, ces soulèvemens n'étaient pas fort à craindre en Angleterre.

Lord Grenville commençait à reconnaître le gouvernement de France qu'il avait d'abord intitulé gouvernement de Paris.

Lord Grenville attestait à votre ambassadeur que les formes n'arrêteraient jamais le roi d'Angleterre, lorsqu'il s'agirait d'obtenir des déclarations suffisantes et profitables pour les deux parties.

Pitt, de son côté, ne témoignait, au commencement de Décembre, que le desir d'éviter la guerre et d'en avoir le témoignage du ministère Français; il regrettait que l'interruption de correspondance entre les deux cabinets produisît des mal en tendus.

Il se fit une coalition rapide et nombreuse de toutes les créatures de la Cour, des hommes en places, des nobles, des prêtres, des riches propriétaires, de tous les capitalistes, des hommes qui vivent des abus.

La haine la plus violente succéda, dans le cœur de presque tous les Anglais, à la vénération que leur avait la *spirée la dernière Révolution de la France*.

A ce mot de constitution en danger, l'homme en place craignait pour ses appointemens, le noble pour ses titres, le prêtre pour sa superstition, le propriétaire pour sa terre, l'ouvrier pour son pain.

Les esprits étaient agités par ce vertige, lorsque s'est faite l'ouverture du parlement: là, s'est manifestée l'idolâtrie la plus révoltante pour la royauté: là, s'est montrée, sous le voile du culte pour la constitution, l'hypocrisie aristocratique; là, l'extravagance chevelaresque a joué la comédie le poignard à la main; là, partie de ces membres de l'opposition, qui dans leur coalition avec Fox, avaient fait publier leur dépendance, n'eut pas rougi de se prostituer à un ministère corrompu, et de chercher à déguiser leur désertion avec une futile distinction de mots; là, des hommes qui d'abord avaient osé lever le voix en faveur de la Liberté et de la France, entraînés par le torrent, ont encensé l'idole du jour; cette idole qu'en secret ils foulent aux pieds. Cependant au milieu de la terreur panique qui avait saisi presque tous les esprits, il faut louer Fox, d'avoir osé réclamer l'envoi d'un ambassadeur en France; il faut louer Shéridan d'avoir dispensé la Nation de ces massacres, qui ne sont que l'ouvrage de quelques scélérats; il faut louer Erskine d'avoir osé défendre Thomas Payne, dont on brûlait l'effigie, après avoir couvert d'encens ses ouvrages quelque tems au paravant. Mais, mal-

gré le courage de ces défenseurs de la Liberté, malgré le ridicule de cette grande conspiration, que l'on cherche encore partout, que l'on ne trouve en aucun endroit, malgré la fausseté de ce ministère, qui, pour calmer les esprits, avait promis des réformes, et qui, voyant l'enthousiasme, a cru pouvoir impunément violer sa promesse, le triomphe du ministère, je ne dis pas sur les révolutionnaires, mais sur la Nation Anglaise, qu'il a tuée de ses propres mains, ce triomphe a été complet.

C'est dans circonstances que votre ministère des affaires étrangères a cru devoir, le 20 Décembre, vous communiquer l'état de ses négociations avec le Cabinet Britannique, et que, le 27 Décembre, le conseil exécutif a fait notifier au gouvernement Anglais, par l'organe de votre ambassadeur, un écrit par lequel il repousse vigoureusement toutes les inculpations élevées contre lui, par lequel il se plaint des préparatifs hostiles de la cour d'Angleterre, et annonce sa ferme résolution, et d'ouvrir les yeux du peuple Anglais dans un appel qu'il lui fera, et de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour repousser l'aggression. Nous devons le dire ici, parce que c'est rendre hommage au génie de la Liberté qui inspire les Français, en rapprochant la correspondance du conseil exécutif avec le cabinet de Saint-James, on y retrouve la supériorité de l'homme libre, c'est à-dire, de, l'homme loyal, franc et juste, sur *l'agent du despotisme*, dont les conceptions sont toujours gênées et équivoques, parce que ses intentions ne sont jamais pures; aussi la meilleure justification de la République serait-elle dans la publication de la correspondance des deux cabinets.

Vous avez entendu la réponse de Lord Grenville à la note de Chauvelin dont je viens de parler. Chicane sur le titre, entortillage dans les explications, mauvaise foi dans l'éternel souvenir de griefs dix fois pulvérisés, voilà tout ce qu'on y trouve. Après avoir parcouru la conduite du cabinet de Saint-James, nous devons examiner les

les motifs sur lesquels il fonde ses préparatifs hostiles, nous devons exposer nos propres griefs.

L'ouverture de l'Escaut est le premier grief du cabinet Anglais. La République Française, en rendant aux Provinces Unies sa liberté, devait-elle laisser subsister *l'esclavage pour un des plus beaux fleuves qui l'arrose ?* Si la République Française, en rendant aux Anversois la Liberté de l'Escaut, déchire des traités conclus entre des tyrans, elle venge le principe de la propriété ; et sa conduite est tout à la fois juste et magnanime, car son intérêt est nul ici. L'accuser, comme le fait lord Grenville, d'aspirer à se rendre l'arbitre de tous les peuples et la réformatrice de tous les traités, c'est généraliser fausement, c'est noircir basement une action honorable.

Loin de la République Française une pareille prétention. Elle rend la Liberté aux sujets de ses ennemis, lorsque les rois, en pareil cas, les conqurent pour les asservir ou les vendre. Mais le Cabinet de St. James qui reproche à la France de se rendre l'arbitre des destinées des peuples, ne prétend-il pas lui-même jouer ce rôle, lorsqu'il veut forcer la Hollande à rester dans les fers ? lorsqu'il veut exiger de nous que nous les respections ? Eh ! quelle différence dans nos principes ! car, si nous sommes entrés dans la Belgique, c'est au nom de la Liberté, et non pas pour y asséoir notre domination, non pour en asservir le commerce, non pas pour en diriger le gouvernement ; tandis que les Anglais ne tiennent la Hollande sous le joug du stathouder, que parce qu'ils tiennent le stathouder lui-même en tutelle.

Toute garantie de constitutions est un véritable attentat au droit, à l'indépendance des Nations. Eh ! que ne fait que cette garantie n'a servi qu'à couvrir le plus monstrueux despotisme, celui qui est exercé non pas seulement au profit de quelques habitans, mais au profit d'un *despote étranger ?* Qui ne fait que le stathouder a certainement *sacrifié son pays au cabinet de l'Angleterre ; qu'il l'a sacrifié*

sacrifié dans la guerre de l'indépendance Américaine, en laissant impunément prendre par les Anglais, au mépris des traités de 1664, des vaisseaux chargés de munitions navales; qu'il l'a sacrifié en se refusant à la neutralité armée; en requérant la marine Hollandaise dans un délabrement affreux, en ne faisant sortir les vaisseaux que pour les faire prendre par les Anglais, en leur prostituant en un mot, les flottes, l'argent, l'honneur des Provinces-Unies? Et voilà le prix de l'amitié du cabinet Anglais pour la Hollande: nullité de la marine, nullité de commerce, despotisme complet.

Il sied bien maintenant au cabinet Anglais de parler de justice et de respect pour les traités; il lui sied bien de reprocher à la République Française de s'ériger en arbitre des destinées des peuples, lui qui déclara la guerre à la Hollande, parce que quelques marchands avaient voulu établir des liaisons de commerce avec les Américains. Il lui sied bien de vanter son attachement pour ses alliés, lorsque cet attachement ne couvre que des chaînes pesantes pour ses alliés. Non, la République ne doit pas déguiser *son horreur pour cette violation de tous ses principes*. Le traité que met là Hollande sous le joug du stathouder et des cabinets Anglais et Prussien, est *un traité nul dans sa nature; mais un traité que le peuple de Hollande a seul le droit de casser; et voilà pourquoi la République Française ne doit pas y porter atteinte*. L'aggression du stathouder envers la France, ou l'insurrection contre lui de la majorité des Hollandais, voilà les seuls cas où la France croirait de son devoir et de la justice de porter ses armes dans les Provinces-Unies; et ces cas n'existent point, et la France, en ce, veut rester tranquille. Et si jamais elle est forcée de rompre sa neutralité, ce ne sera pas comme le cabinet de Saint James, pour substituer une Nation à un autre tyran, mais pour rendre la Hollande à elle même.

Si jamais la République Française était appelée à rendre

la Liberté à la Hollande, ce ne serait pas pour augmenter son influence; elle n'en veut aucune sur les Etats étrangers.

Comment a-t-il pu tomber dans la tête du cabinet de Saint James qu'une nation, qui annonce le plus grand respect pour l'indépendance des peuples, veuille protéger partout les mécontents? Un peuple libre fait distinguer l'insurrection de la révolte; la volonté bien prononcée d'une *grande majorité*, du vœu partiel de quelques individus.

Si tout à coup le voile qui couvre d'un profond mystère le machiavélisme des Cours de l'Europe, si ce voile pouvait entièrement se lever, que d'horreurs se découvriraient! On y verrait peut-être que le fil de tous nos désordres tient à la main de ceux-là même qui nous reprochent de troubler la tranquillité de nos voisins. Car, qui nous garantit que le cabinet de Saint James n'a pas employé, n'emploie pas encore, pour troubler la France, toutes les manœuvres dont il s'est servi pour écraser, en 1787, la Liberté naissante dans les Provinces-Unies? Combien d'argent distribué alors par ce même Lord Aukland, aujourd'hui ambassadeur en Hollande? Combien d'argent distribué pour augmenter les partisans d'Orange, débaucher les troupes patriotes, acheter cet infâme Rhingrave de Salm, ces grand pensionnaire Flaegel, pour mettre en scène le roi de Prusse, qui n'a presque toujours été que l'instrument du cabinet de Saint-James, pour acheter une partie du ministère Français, qui abandonna si lâchement la cause du patriotisme Hollandais? Voilà les jeux ordinaires du cabinet Anglais, de ce cabinet qui fait économiser, sur les dépenses de la marine et de la guerre, des sommes énormes pour fournir à l'incalculable corruption de ces créatures. Non, de pareils jeux ne peuvent jamais souiller l'histoire de notre République.

Rappellerai-je les reproches qui nous ont été faits, soit par le cabinet d'Angleterre, soit par ses créatures
dans

dans les deux chambres du parlement ? Rappellerai-je cette fausse interprétation de cet appel à la Nation Anglaise, dont le ministre des affaires étrangères a menacé le cabinet de Saint James, s'il persistait dans ses projets hostiles ; appel dans lequel ce cabinet à feint de voir un signe d'insurrection, tandis que ces mots signifient un appel à la raison et à la justice d'un grande Nation, dupe du charlatanisme de ces ministres, qui veulent la brouiller avec un peuple dont *la cause est la sienne*, et qui n'a juré de haine qu'aux tyrans ? Rappellerai-je ces plaintes sur l'indécence avec laquelle on traite les rois ; lorsqu'on parle dans les deux chambres d'Angleterre avec tant d'insolence des ministres et des représentans du peuple Français ? Ces plaintes contre nos clubs qui gouvernent, lorsque le ministère Anglais on élève de monarchiques pour tyranniser, lorsqu'on établit soi-même l'inquisition contre les Anglais et contre nos freres ? Rappellerai-je l'accusation d'avoir envahi la Savoie, et de l'avoir jointe à notre territoire ? Les préparatifs hostiles du roi de Sardaigne, ouvertement dirigés contre nous, justifient l'invasion, et le vœu unanime de toutes les Communes de savoir, légitime une jonction plus utile à ces braves Allobroges qu'aux Français. Rappellerai-je l'accusation d'avoir envahi les Pays-Bas, d'y donner des lois, d'y faire une constitution ? — Mais, qui a le premier ravagé nos campagnes ? N'est-ce pas le tyran de ces Pays-Bas ? Nous, y faire une constitution ! Qu'on y lise ces instructions données aux généraux : *Rassembler le peuple—consulter son vœu—protéger sa sûreté pendant qu'il émet ce vœu—le respecter quand il est émis.*—Voilà le mode de notre tyrannie.

Le peuple Belge fait et fera seul sa constitution ; mais pour l'amener à ce point, il faut bien lier les mains des malveillans, des émissaires autrichiens, qui voudraient exciter des séditions ; et voilà la cause de quelques actes d'autorité nécessaires ; voilà le fondement de ce pouvoir

révolutionnaire qui n'est qu'un pouvoir protecteur de la Liberté politique à son berceau, qui cesse dès qu'elle est établie.—Nous, piller la Belgique ! lorsque nous ne voulons qu'être remboursés volontairement des frais d'une guerre où le sang de nos frères est compté pour rien ! Il sied à une Cour qui a dépouillé et qui dépouille les Indes Orientales de richesses énormes pour en tenir ses habitans dans les fers ; il lui sied bien de nous reprocher la demande d'une juste indemnité pour les frais que nous coûtent la restitution de la Liberté à nos voisins !

Rappellerai-je ce grand crime commis par l'Assemblée législative et la Convention, en recevant des Adresses et des députations des diverses sociétés Anglaises ; crime qui a profondément scandalisé les ministres, les lords, les gens de robe : comme si, d'après la constitution Anglaise même, les habitans de cette île n'avaient pas le droit de se réjouir de la révolution d'un peuple voisin qui recouvre sa liberté, de l'en féliciter ; comme si ces félicitations ne tendaient pas à rendre les liens des nations, à bannir ces antipathies prétendues nationales, et alimentées pour la sûreté du despotisme ; comme si les représentans des Français, qui se sont déclarés les frères de tous les hommes, pouvaient refuser l'entrée de leur sanctuaire à des étrangers qui viennent rendre dans son temple hommage à la Liberté universelle. Ah ! les entraves mises à ces communications fraternelles, accusent un Gouvernement ; ce n'est pas le nôtre, mais bien celui qui craint comme une contagion funeste une communication avec des hommes libres !

Eh ! combien de moyens pervers n'a-t-il pas employés pour la rompre entièrement, pour nous noircir aux yeux de nos frères d'Angleterre.

On nous a transformés tous en Athées, parce qu'un député avait fait dans cette tribune la confession ingénue de son athéisme.

Ainsi

Ainsi, non-seulement le ministre Anglais dédaignait de nous envoyer un ambassadeur, mais il refusait de reconnaître le nôtre. Peut-être devra-t-elle, la République Française, examiner à son tour s'il lui convient de *reconnaître ces rois* qui traitent avec autant d'insolence une République puissante.

Cette insulte envers la Nation ne demande-t-elle pas une réparation ? — Elle a droit encore d'en exiger une pour l'outrageante partialité du bill sur l'exportation des grains.

Ne trouve-t-on pas le même esprit hostile, et dans le bill qui prohibe la circulation de nos assignats, et dans celui qui concerne les étrangers arrivant et résidant en Angleterre ? Le premier bill n'est-il pas une véritable déclaration de guerre à nos moyens de finance ? Le second n'en est-il pas un contre les patriotes qui triomphent maintenant en France ? car le bill manifeste une partialité marquée pour les émigrans, prêtres, nobles, aristocrates, ou soi-disant modérés qui sont en Angleterre, et que le gouvernement semble mettre sous la protection spéciale : tandis qu'il réserve toutes les horreurs de l'inquisition pour les patriotes que leurs affaires ou leur goût amènent en Angleterre.

Les intentions hostiles paraissent d'autant plus clairement dans ce bill, qu'il offre une infraction manifeste de l'article IV. du traité de commerce passé en 1786 avec l'Angleterre.

Enfin, à quoi peut-on attribuer ces armemens extraordinaires, cette augmentation de troupes de terre et de marine, cet empressement, ce feu avec lequel on travaille dans tous les ports de l'Angleterre, si ce n'est à l'intention de menacer, d'effrayer et d'accabler, s'il est possible, la France ? car l'impuissance de l'Espagne, le traité secret qui paraît lier les deux Cours, l'harmonie qui règne entre l'Angleterre et la Russie, la soumission de la Hollande à ses ordres supérieurs, tout prouve que la France seule est

l'objet de ses armemens. Certes il convenait, il convient à la France, sous tous les rapports, de suspendre ce traité qu'elle observe religieusement. Et cependant, c'est ce cabinet Anglais par lequel il est violé, qui ose accuser la République de violer tous les traités.

Tout se réunit à porter cette conviction dans l'ame ; et l'orgueil de ce roi qui gémit depuis si long-tems de l'ignominie dont on couvre la royauté, et que la guerre d'Amérique n'a pas guéri de la funeste envie de combattre encore une fois le génie de la Liberté ; et la haine pour la Liberté de ce Lord Hawkesbury qui, derrière la toile, dirige et son maître, et le conseil, et la majorité corrompue du Parlement.

Mais, d'un autre côté, peut-on croire que ces démonstrations de guerre soient bien sérieuses dans le ministère Anglais, quand on rassemble tant de motifs qui devraient l'en détourner ; quand on voit qu'il n'a aucun motif réel pour la déclarer à la France. Cette guerre est inutile, même pour le but principal que le ministère Anglais s'est proposé, puisque ce but est rempli, *puisque cette révolution dont il était menacé, est complètement anéantie.*

Oui, en rapprochant toutes ces circonstances, nous serions tentés de regarder cette guerre comme une guerre de préparatifs. Mais, sous cet aspect même, elle est plus funeste pour nous qu'une guerre déclarée ; car, quel serait son objet ? De nous amuser par de feintes négociations, d'user nos moyens, tandis qu'en gagnant du tems on augmenterait ses préparatifs, pour tomber ensuite sur la République au moment qui paraîtrait le plus favorable.

C'est le système qu'ont suivi Léopold et Frédéric-Guillaume ; c'est le système que suit le cabinet de Saint-James. Il attend que les flottes soient entièrement armées et équipées, et il presse en secret ces armemens, et ils ne peuvent être terminés avant deux ou trois mois. Il attend que nos assignats se décreditent encore plus, que

notre hypothéque soit épuisée, que l'anarchie nous divise, que le peuple Français, las de la guerre et craignant les impôts, lui offre une proie facile à engloutir. Eh bien, il faut déjouer le cabinet Anglais comme nous avons déjoué Léopold et Frédéric-Guillaume; il faut les forcer de nous donner une explication précise qui nous tranquillise à jamais, ou tirer l'épée contre les Anglais; et, croyez-en le génie de la Liberté, les matelots Français ne le céderont point aux vainqueurs du Brabant, et la mer aura aussi son Jénape.

C'est ici qu'il faut déchirer le voile qui enveloppe ce colosse imposant de l'Angleterre; c'est ici qu'il faut prouver que vous commencerez cette guerre maritime avec autant et plus d'avantages que le cabinet de Saint-James. Argent, hommes, et vaisseaux; voilà le triple nerf de la guerre. Eh! bien, considérez l'état de l'Angleterre, comparez-lui le vôtre.

L'Angleterre n'a pas une seule hypothèque à offrir aux emprunts qu'elle sera obligée de faire pour soutenir la guerre, puisque la dépense ordinaire, en tems de paix, surpasse de près d'un million sa recette ordinaire; tandis que la France a d'abord plus de trois milliards d'hypothèques à offrir en fonds de terres; tandis que, lorsque cette hypothèque sera épuisée, la richesse du sol et de l'industrie Française offrira ces ressources immenses depuis longtemps consommées par les besoins du ministère Anglais.

Parlerai-je de la ressource des hommes, comparerai-je cette population de 25 millions de Français qui n'ont qu'une âme, qu'une volonté, avec ces 7 millions d'Anglais qui fournissent à peine les 30 milliers d'hommes que demandent et que dévorent chaque année les climats brûlans des îles à sucre et des Indes Orientales; avec ces 1200 mille Ecoffais, *las du joug de l'Angleterre*, et qui la désertent chaque jour pour enrichir les Etats-Unis; avec ces 3 millions d'Irlandais qui sont loin de seconder les folies du cabinet de Saint-James, qui, loin de
vouloir

vouloir combattre un peuple libre, *cherchent au contraire à l'imiter*, qui présentent déjà au *despotisme effrayé* une armée de plus de 60 mille volontaires bien organisés ?

Votre immense population est, et sera une pépinière intarissable et de soldats, et de matelots, lorsque la voix de la Liberté les appellera au combat, soit sur terre ou sur mer ; tandis que, pour armer une flotte considérable, le cabinet Anglais, sera forcé de *recourir à l'infâme presse*, et par là *de précipiter sa ruine en appelant l'insurrection*.

Est-ce la Prusse qui doit l'Angleterre chérir, la Prusse qu'elle a si cruellement jouée dans la guerre actuelle ? La Russie, qui ne lui pardonnera jamais d'avoir voulu humilier son orgueil ? L'empereur, dont l'indigence épuîsera bientôt le trésor de l'Angleterre, comme ses prédécesseurs l'ont épuisé dans la guerre des alliés ? Le Portugal, réduit au marasme ; le Portugal, qui s'occupe de recueillir de l'or, non pour le Tage, mais pour en enrichir la Tamise ? La Hollande, *lasse de son joug*, et dont l'impuissance tourne aujourd'hui contre l'Angleterre même.

Sont-ce ces îles à sucre qui peuvent fournir des fondemens solides à sa grandeur, ces îles déjà ébranlées par l'exemple des colonies Françaises ; où les hommes de couleur sont réduits presque au sort des esclaves, où les esclaves ne sont pas même au niveau des bêtes de somme ? *Complétez votre décret sur les hommes de couleur, adoucissez le sort de l'esclave, et vous protégerez vos îles, en enlevant bientôt à l'Angleterre les siennes*.

Est-ce dans ses immenses possessions des Indes que l'Angleterre doit espérer de trouver des moyens et des amis ? Trente millions d'hommes sont maintenant dans l'Inde sous la domination de l'Angleterre ; presque tout l'Indostan la déteste, et soupire après la ruine de la puissance Anglaise ; et avec quelle force contient on cette enorme quantité d'hommes, cette immense étendue de pays ? avec dix mille Anglais au plus, disséminés sur toute la surface
de

de l'Inde, qui ont à leurs ordres cent mille indigens de ce pays bien disciplinés, *mais dont la discipline pourra tourner un jour contre leurs maîtres.* Joignez à ce tableau celui de l'épuisement des finances de tous ces princes, et surtout de celui du Bengale, l'épuisement de cette compagnie des Indes, qui va bientôt rentrer dans le néant, accablée de dettes et couverte de malédictions, comme toutes les autres compagnies.

Dites-nous si, lorsque les Républicains Français se présenteront dans ces parages, non pour remplacer les Anglais en les chassant, mais pour rendre l'Inde à son indépendance, pour y rappeler le commerce à sa vraie base, la base de la fraternité ; dites-nous si dès-lors ils ne trouveront pas et dans les princes et dans les peuples autant d'alliés, et s'il ne leur sera pas facile de renverser une puissance dont la statue colossale accuse la faiblesse et appelle la ruine ?

Loin de nous, en traçant ce tableau, l'idée de vouloir affliger la Nation Anglaise ; nous ne voulons que démasquer le fantôme de puissance sur lequel son ministère s'appuie. Quant à la Nation, elle ne nous offre que des frères, et l'on ne veut pas la destruction de ses frères ; mais la Nation Anglaise doit enfin, comme nous, chercher sa prospérité *non dans un commerce exclusif, non dans des possessions volées à leurs propriétaires, non dans l'art d'exprimer les sueurs et le sang des laboureurs et des artisans de l'Inde ; mais dans un commerce fondé sur la moralité, sur la justice universelle, sur le développement libre de l'industrie.* Eh ! quelle Nation qui s'est réduite ainsi elle-même, peut prétendre à de plus hautes destinées que l'Angleterre ? Qui l'emporte sur elle en industrie, en capitaux, en esprit d'ordre, en moralité surtout, cette moralité qui inspire la confiance, est-ce l'ame du vrai commerce ?

Je n'étendrai pas plus loin ces réflexions, qui doivent

vous

vous prouver que vous ne devez pas craindre de voir le cabinet d'Angleterre se joindre à vos ennemis.

Kersaint vous a démontré d'ailleurs, dans le tableau énergique qu'il vous a présenté sur la Nation Anglaise, combien il vous est facile de l'attaquer avec avantage, et dans presque toutes ses possessions. Ce que *vous avez à craindre, ce n'est pas la guerre, c'est l'incertitude sur la guerre. Elle use tous vos moyens sans aucun profit.*

La Convention Nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport de son Comité de défense générale, décrète :

1. Que le Conseil exécutif est chargé de déclarer au gouvernement d'Angleterre, que l'intention de la République Française est d'entretenir l'harmonie et la fraternité avec la Nation Anglaise, de respecter son indépendance et celle de ses alliés, tant que l'Angleterre ou ses alliés ne l'attaqueront pas.

2. Le Conseil exécutif est chargé de demander au gouvernement d'Angleterre l'exécution de l'article IV, du traité de commerce de 1786 ; et en conséquence que les Citoyens Français, voyageant ou résidant en Angleterre, cessent d'être assujettis aux formes humiliantes prescrites par l'acte du parlement du mois de Décembre dernier, et puissent voyager et résider tranquillement en Angleterre, ainsi que les Anglais le sont en France.

3. Le Conseil exécutif est chargé de demander au gouvernement d'Angleterre que les Français puissent librement, comme les autres étrangers, exporter de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irlande les grains et autres denrées et provisions, et qu'ils ne puissent être assujettis à aucune autre prohibition que les étrangers, conformément au traité de 1786.

4. Enfin, le Conseil exécutif est chargé de demander au gouvernement Anglais quel est l'objet des armemens ordonnés récemment par lui, et s'ils sont dirigés contre la France, se réservant, dans le cas d'un refus de satisfaction
sur

sur tous ces points, de prendre immédiatement les mesures que l'intérêt et la sûreté de la République exigent.

Extracts from the Report made by M. Brissot, in the Sitting of January 12th, on the dispositions of the British Government.

YOU have referred to your united committees of diplomacy and marine, and, posteriorly, to your committee of general defence, the different notifications which have been made to you by the minister of Foreign Affairs, relative to the conduct of the British Cabinet towards the French Republic. Your committee has examined them with the utmost attention, and, after a profound discussion, is convinced,

1st, That the grievances of the British Cabinet against France are entirely unfounded.

2dly, That the French Republic has, on the contrary, well-founded complaints to make against the Court of St. James's.

3dly, That after having exhausted all the means tending to preserve peace with the English nation, the interest and dignity of the French Republic require you to decree the most rigorous measures, to repel the aggression of the Cabinet of St. James's.

It is expedient that the English nation, which is merely led astray by her government, should be speedily disabused. From a respect for *the fraternity which unites us*, it becomes us to paint frankly to that nation the manœuvres of her government; and if we should be driven to treat her as an enemy, it is necessary that each Frenchman shall be fully convinced, that in combating this nation he acts in conformity to justice. The impressions excited in England by our revolution, were not

the same to the nation, the Parliament, and the Court, The nation at the time testified joy, the Parliament uneasiness, and the Court terror. The well-manifested opinion of the English nation obliged the ministry to maintain silence, and their interest engaged them *to observe an exact neutrality*, in the war which has arisen between France, Austria, and Prussia. In doing this they found a double advantage; the nation was enriched by these conflicts, of which she was merely a spectator, and the present ministry were more firmly established by the prosperity of commerce, and the stability of the peace. It was in obedience to this double interest that the Cabinet of St. James's repeatedly expressed its intention to observe scrupulously a neutrality towards France; and this neutrality was in reality observed *until the immortal day of the 10th of August.*

The suspension of the king of the French suddenly changed the apparent dispositions of the Court of England, whose ambassador was recalled on the 17th of August, under the futile pretext that his credentials were simply to repair to the king of the French; as if it would not have been easy to transmit new letters of credit. The Minister Dundas added, that this recal was conformable to the principles of the neutrality of the Court of England, as if there had been *any relation between neutrality in the War, the event of the 10th of August, and the recal of Lord Gower!* Henry Dundas also protested that it was the firm resolution of the Cabinet of St. James's, not to interfere with the government of France, and notwithstanding, recalls an ambassador under pretext of the revolution of the 10th of August. Was not this an evident interference in the internal government of France, since it announced a disapprobation of the operations of that government? Had the English Cabinet maintained any respect for the independence of the people, an ambassador ought at least to have been sent
back

back after the opening of the National Convention; since from the moment all the departments had named deputies to this Convention, it was evident that by this conduct they gave a formal approbation to the operations of the Legislative Assembly, and consequently to the king's suspension. Was the refusal of the Cabinet of St. James's founded on the abolition of Royalty, pronounced by this Convention at the very opening of its sittings? The National Convention, being invested with unlimited powers, was able to abolish Royalty, and to substitute in its stead the Republican Government. The Cabinet of St. James's could not refuse to correspond with the new Executive Power of France, without violating the principle of the independence of nations it had itself proclaimed, without declaring that it intended to interfere with the internal government of France.

1. They, the English ministers, foresaw, I say, that this Republic would be consolidated, and carry the torch of revolutions throughout all Europe.

2. In the course of the months of October and November, an amicable negotiation was established; and the English ministry did not at that time even complain of the opening of the Scheldt, because *the English Nation*, then enraptured at the successes of the French, saw in this opening nothing more than an homage rendered to principles.

3. The English ministry complained of the Decree of the 19th of November, which appeared to them calculated to excite all nations to revolt, and which seemed to promise an efficacious succour to the first discontent which should display itself in England. The Executive Council, in reply, gave to this decree an explanation exactly conformable to what was wished; and this is a circumstance well worthy of remark. The English ministry had pointed out to one of the agents of France in London, the terms in which the interpretation of this
decree

decree ought to be known, to satisfy fully the Cabinet of St James's and the Parliament; and notwithstanding this agent had not yet been able to transmit this explanation to the Executive Council, he had been anticipated by the note of the minister of Foreign Affairs, which applied to the whole of its contents.

The British ministry also complained of the emissaries of the *propagande*, of the secret apostles sent into England, as they said, by the Executive Council, *there to preach up revolt*. The minister of Foreign Affairs publicly refuted in this Assembly these imputations, injurious to the minister of a free people, and observed with reason that it would be unthrifty to lavish the treasures of the state, for the purpose of bringing about events which, should they happen, would be the work of reason. The English ministry themselves had besides agreed that this *propagande*, and these insurrections, were not much to be dreaded in England.

4. Lord Grenville began to acknowledge the government of France, which he had at first entitled the government of Paris.

5. Lord Grenville attested to your ambassador that the king of England would never be deterred by forms, when declarations satisfactory and profitable to both parties were to be obtained.

6. Pitt, on his side, at the commencement of December, simply testified a desire to shun war, and to obtain testimonies to that effect from the French ministry: he regretted that the interruption of the correspondence between the two Cabinets was productive of misunderstandings.

7. A rapid and numerous coalition was made of all the creatures of the Court, placemen, *nobility, priests, rich proprietors, and possessors of large capitals*, men who live by abuses.

8. In the breasts of almost all the English the most violent hatred succeeded to *the veneration with which they had been inspired by the last revolution of France.*

9. At this word, the constitution is in danger, the placeman trembled for his salary, *the nobleman for his titles,* the priest for his superstition, the proprietor for his land, *and the workman for his bread.*

10. The public mind was agitated at the time of the opening of the Parliament, where *the most scandalous idolatry for royalty was displayed.* There, under the veil of a regard for the constitution, an aristocratic hypocrisy was manifested. There, the extravagance of knight-errantry performed the comedy, a poignard in the hand. There a part of the members of opposition, of those members who, in their coalition with Fox, had obliterated the recollection of their dependance, did not blush to prostitute themselves to a corrupted minister, and to seek a disguise of their desertion in a futile distinction of words. There, the men, who at the commencement had dared to elevate their voices in favour of liberty and France, now hurried away by the torrent, offered up incense to the idol of the day, to that idol which they secretly trod beneath their feet. In the midst, however, of the terror, of the panic by which the public mind had almost universally been seized, Fox must be praised for having dared to urge the sending of an ambassador to France; Sheridan must be praised for having exculpated the nation from those massacres which are merely the work of a few unprincipled men; and Erskine must be praised for having dared to defend Thomas Payne, whose effigy was burned a little time after his works had been covered with incense. Notwithstanding the courage of these defenders of liberty; notwithstanding the ridicule excited by that great conspiracy, which is every where still sought after, but is no where to be found; notwithstanding the falsehood of the Ministry, who, to calm the public mind, ~~had~~ promised

promised a reform, and who, observing the enthusiasm, thought they could break their promise with impunity, the triumph of the Ministry, I do not say over the revolutionists, but over the English nation which they have killed with their own hands, this triumph has been rendered complete.

10. Matters being thus circumstanced, your Minister of Foreign Affairs felt it his duty to communicate to you, on the 20th of December, the state of his negotiations with the British Cabinet; and on the 27th of the same month, the Executive Council transmitted to the English government, through your ambassador, a note, in which all the accusations made against it (the Council) are vigorously repelled; and in which it complains of the hostile preparations of the Court of England, and announces its firm resolution, both to open the eyes of the people of England by an appeal it was about to make to them, and to take all the necessary steps to repel the aggression. It becomes us to state it here, because it is doing homage to the Genius of Liberty which inspires the French, that in comparing the conduct of the Executive Council with that of the Cabinet of St. James's, we discover the superiority of the free man, that is to say, of the man who is at once loyal, frank, and just, over *the agent of despotism*, whose conceptions are invariably constrained and equivocal, because his intentions are never pure. Thus will the best justification of the Republic consist in the publication of the correspondence of the two cabinets.

You have heard the reply of Lord Grenville to the note of Chauvelin I have just mentioned to you. Chicanery in the title, perplexities in the explanations, insincerity in the eternal raking up of grievances ten times pulverized, this is all that can be found in it. After having gone through the conduct of the Court of St. James's, it becomes us to examine the motives on which
the

the hostile preparations of that Court are founded : it becomes us to expose our own grievances.

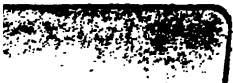
The opening of the Scheldt is the first grievance of the English Cabinet. In restoring liberty to the United Provinces, did it become the French nation to allow the existence of *the slavery of one of the finest rivers by which they are watered*? If the French Republic, in restoring the liberty of the Scheldt to the Antwerpens, breaks treaties concluded on between tyrants, she revenges the principle of property, and her conduct is at once just and magnanimous, since her interest has here no concern. To accuse her, as Lord Grenville has done, of aspiring to render herself the arbitress of all nations, and the reformer of all treaties, is to generalize falsely : 'tis casting a base aspersions on an honourable action.

Far from the French Republic is such an intention ! She restores liberty to the subjects of her enemies, when kings in a similar case conquer them either to enslave or sell them. Does not the Cabinet of St. James's, which reproaches France with rendering herself the arbiter of the destinies of nations, does not this Cabinet itself undertake such a part, when it aims at forcing Holland to remain in slavery ? when it endeavours to oblige us to respect these chains ? Oh ! what a difference in our principles ! if we have entered Belgia, it has been in the name of liberty, and not to establish our dominion there ; not to subjugate the commerce, not to direct the government ; --- whilst the English merely preserve Holland under the Stadtholderian yoke, because they keep the Stadtholder himself in a state of vassalage.

11. Every guarantee of constitutions is a real attempt on the right and independence of Nations. Who does not know that this guarantee has merely tended to cover the most monstrous of despotisms, that which is exercised not simply to the advantage of some of the inhabitants, but to the profit of a foreign despot ? Who
does

does not know that the Stadtholder has certainly sacrificed his country to the English cabinet? That he sacrificed it in the war of American independence, by suffering the English, in defiance of the treaties of 1664, to seize with impunity vessels laden with naval stores? That he sacrificed it by denying himself to the armed neutrality; by suffering the marine of Holland to fall into an alarming state of decay; by permitting the vessels of Holland to quit their ports, merely to fall a prey to the English; and, in a word, by prostituting to the latter the fleets, the money, and the honour of the United Provinces? Such is the price of the friendship of the English Cabinet to Holland, a non-entity in her marine, a non-entity in her commerce, and whose despotism is complete!

In the mean time it well becomes the English Cabinet to speak of justice and respect for treaties! It well becomes this Cabinet, which declared war against Holland because a few merchants had been desirous of establishing a commercial intercourse with the Americans, to reproach the French Republic with setting itself up as an arbiter of the destinies of Nations! It well becomes this Cabinet to express its attachment to its allies, when this attachment is merely a cover for galling chains prepared for these allies. No, the Republic ought not to conceal *her horror for this violation of every principle.* The treaty, which places Holland under the yoke of the Stadtholder, and of the English and Prussian Cabinets, is *a treaty void in its nature, which the people of Holland alone have, however, the right to break: and on this account the French Republic has no title to infringe on it.* The aggression of the Stadtholder towards France, or *the insurrection* against him of *the majority* of the Dutch, these are the only cases in which France would feel it her duty, would conceive it just to carry her arms into the United Provinces. These cases do not exist, and France is desirous so far



to remain tranquil. Should she ever be forced to break her neutrality, she will not, like the Cabinet of St. James's, do this for the purpose of substituting a nation to another tyrant, but to restore Holland to herself.

12. Should the French Republic ever be called to restore liberty to Holland, she will not undertake this to increase her influence: she wishes to have none over Foreign States.

13. How can the Cabinet of St. James's have been led to think, that a nation which announces the highest respect for the independence of nations, should wish to protect the factions wherever they may be found?

A free nation knows how to distinguish insurrection from revolt;—the strongly expressed will of a *great majority* from the partial wish of a few individuals.

14. If the veil which throws a deep mystery over the Machiavelism of the Courts of Europe, if this veil could be suddenly and entirely removed, what horrors would be disclosed! We should perhaps then see that all our disorders are the work of the very men who reproach us with disturbing the tranquillity of our neighbours. Who will undertake to warrant to us, that the Cabinet of St. James's has not employed, and does not still employ, to trouble France, all the manœuvres it employed in 1787, to crush the growing liberty of the United Provinces? What sums of money were then distributed by the self-same Lord Auckland, who is now ambassador in Holland! What sums were distributed to augment the partizans of Orange, to debauch the patriotic troops, to purchase the infamous Rhingrave of Salm, the grand pensioner Flaegel, to put into action the King of Prussia, who has almost constantly been no other than the instrument of the Cabinet of St. James's, and to purchase those of the French ministry, who abandoned in so dastardly a way the cause of Dutch Patriotism! These are the common artifices of the English Cabinet, of that Cabinet which saves immense sums in the expenditure of

the marine, and in the war expenditure, to supply the incalculable corruption of its creatures. No—such artifices can never stain the history of our Republic.

Shall I recal to your remembrance the reproaches which have been urged against us, both by the Cabinet of England, and by its creatures in the two houses of Parliament? Shall I bring to your recollection the false interpretation of the appeal to the English Nation, with which the Minister of Foreign Affairs has menaced the Cabinet of St. James's, provided it should persist in its hostile projects;—an appeal in which this Cabinet has pretended to see a signal of insurrection, whilst these words signified an appeal to the reason and justice of a great nation, the dupe of the quackery of her ministers, who wish to embroil her with a people *whose cause is her own*, and who have sworn hatred to tyrants only? Shall I call to your remembrance those complaints of the indecency with which Kings are treated, at a time when in both Houses of the English Parliament the Ministers and Representatives of the French Nation are so insolently mentioned? Those complaints against our governing clubs, at a time when the English Ministers raise up monarchical clubs to tyrannize over the people; when they establish in themselves an inquisition against the English and our brethren? Shall I bring to your recollection the accusation made against us of having invaded Savoy, and of having annexed it to our territory? The hostile preparations of the King of Sardinia, openly directed against us, justify the invasion, and the unanimous wish of all the commons has legitimated a junction more useful to these brave *Allobroges* than to the French. Shall I remind you of the accusation made against us, of having invaded the Netherlands, of having given to them laws, of having framed for them a constitution? Who, however, has been the first to ravage our plains? Is it not the tyrants of these Netherlands? Did we enter these provinces to make a constitution? Let the follow-

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ing instructions given to our Generals be perused: *assemble the people—consult their wish—protect their safety whilst they deliberate on this wish—and respect it when it shall be expressed.* This is the mode of our tyranny.

The Belgic Nation frames, and shall alone frame its constitution; but for the accomplishment of this aim, the hands of the evil-intentioned, of the Austrian Emis-
saries who wish to excite seditions, must be carefully tied; and this is the cause of *certain necessary acts of au-
thority.* It is the foundation of that revolutionary power, which is merely a power that protects *political liberty in its infant state*, and which ceases when it is established. *We plunder Belgia! we have simply wished to be voluntarily re-imburshed for the expences of a war into the account of which the blood of our brethren is not taken!* It becomes a court which has stripped, and still strips the East Indies of enormous riches, to hold the inhabitants in captivity; it well becomes this Court to urge against us the demand of *a just indemnity* for the expences we have incurred in *the restoration of liberty to our neighbours!*

Shall I remind you of the great crime committed by the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, the reception of the addresses and deputations of various English societies; a crime at which the Ministers, the Lords, the State Lawyers, felt themselves scandalously outraged, as if, according to the English Constitution itself, the inhabitants of Great Britain did not possess the right to rejoice at the revolution of a neighbouring nation, and to congratulate that nation on the recovery of its liberty; ---as if these congratulations did not tend to restore the bonds of nations, and to banish those pretended National antipathies, nourished for the safety of despotism;---as if the representatives of the French, who have declared themselves the brothers of all mankind, could refuse the entry into their sanctuary of foreigners who came to pay, in her temple, an homage to universal liberty. Ah! the

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setters opposed to these fraternal communications, accuse a government : it is not ours, but certainly the one which dreads, as it would a fatal contagion, a communication with free men.

• Ah ! how many perverse means has not this government employed, to put an entire stop to this communication, and to blacken us in the eyes of our brothers of England ?

• 15. *We have all of us been transformed into atheists, because in this tribunal a deputy made an ingenuous confession of his atheism !*

• 16. Thus did the English minister not only disdain to send us an ambassador, but refused to acknowledge ours. It will, perhaps, be incumbent on the French Republic, to examine, in her turn, whether it will be expedient for her to acknowledge those kings who treat a powerful republic with so much insolence.

• 17. Does not this insult to the nation demand a reparation ? France has also a right to require one for the scandalous partiality of the bill relative to the exportation of corn.

• 18. Do we not find the same hostile spirit both in the Bill which prohibits the circulation of our assignats, and in that which regards the arrival and residence of foreigners in England ? Is not the first a true declaration of war against our resources of finance ? Is not the second a similar one against the patriots who now triumph in France, since it manifests a marked partiality for the emigrants, priests, nobles, aristocrats, and *sei-disant* moderates who now reside in England, and whom the Government seems to place under its special protection, whilst it reserves all the horrors of the inquisition for the patriots who have visited England through a motive of business or inclination ?

• Hostile intentions appear so much the more clearly in this bill, as it manifestly infringes the fourth Article of the

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the Treaty of Commerce established with England in 1786.

19. Lastly, to what can be ascribed those extraordinary armaments, that augmentation of the sea and land forces, and that vigour of diligence with which the labours are carried on in all the ports of England, unless it be the intention of intimidating, and, if possible, of overwhelming France? The imbecility of Spain, the secret treaty which seems to connect the two courts, the harmony which prevails between England and Russia, the submission of Holland to the supreme orders she receives, every thing proves that France alone is the object of these armaments. It certainly did belong, and it now belongs, to France, in every point of view, to suspend this treaty she scrupulously observes. And, notwithstanding, 'tis by the English Cabinet, which dares to accuse the Republic of violating all treaties, that it is infringed on.

20. Every thing unites to impress the mind with this conviction; both the pride of the King who has so long groaned under the ignominy with which royalty is covered, and whom the American war has not cured of the fatal inclination to combat once more the genius of Liberty; and the hatred nourished against liberty by Lord Hawkesbury, who directs behind the curtain, his master, the council, and the corrupted majority of Parliament.

21. But on the other hand, can it be believed that these warlike preparations, on the part of the English ministers, are really serious, when so many motives which ought to deter them from war can be collected, and when it is seen that they have no real motive for declaring war against France? The inutility of this war cannot but be apparent, even for the principle aim which the English ministers have proposed, *since the resolution with which they were threatened is entirely crushed.*

22. Yes, in assembling all these circumstances, we should

should be tempted to regard this war as a war of preparations. But, even under this aspect, it will be more destructive to us than a war formally declared. What will its object be? To amuse us by feigned negotiations, to employ our means, whilst, by gaining time or increasing the preparations, the Republic may be afterwards attacked at the most convenient moment.

This is the system which Leopold and Frederic William have followed; it is the system now pursued by the Cabinet of St. James's. This Cabinet waits till the fleets shall be completely armed and equipped, and secretly hasten its armaments, which cannot be terminated in less than two or three months. It waits till our assignats shall be still more depreciated, till our credit shall be exhausted, till anarchy shall divide us, till the French nation, wearied of war, and apprehensive of taxes, shall offer itself as an easy prey to the despoiler. Well, we must undeceive the English Cabinet, as we have convinced of their error Leopold and Frederic William. Either we must oblige the English to give us a precise explanation which may tranquillize us for ever, or must draw the sword against them: and confide thus far in the Genius of Liberty, that the French sailors will not yield to the conquerors of Brabant, and that the sea also will have its Jenape.

Here it is necessary to draw aside the veil which conceals that imposing Colossus, England. It is here expedient to prove that you will begin this maritime war with as many, nay with more advantages than the Cabinet of St. James's. Money, men, and ships; these are the three sinews of war. Well, consider the situation of England, and compare it with your own.

23. England has not a single security to hold out, for the loans she will be obliged to make to carry on the war, since the ordinary expences, in time of peace, surpass by nearly a million her customary receipts; whilst France
has

has to offer in lands immediate securities amounting to more than three milliards; and whenever these securities shall be exhausted, the riches of her soil, and the industry of Frenchmen, will present those immense resources which the necessities of the English ministry have on their side drained a long time ago.

24. Shall I speak of the resource of men? Shall I compare that population of twenty-five millions of Frenchmen, who have but one soul, but one will, with the seven millions of Englishmen who with difficulty furnish the supply of thirty thousand men, a supply which the scorching climates of the Sugar Islands and the East Indies annually demand and devour? Shall I compare it with the twelve hundred thousand Scotchmen, who, *wearied with the yoke of England*, daily desert to enrich the United States of America; with the three millions of Irish, who are far from seconding the rash enterprizes of the Cabinet of St. James's, and who, far from wishing to combat a free people, *seek on the contrary to imitate them*, already presenting to *affrighted despotism* an army of more than sixty thousand well disciplined volunteers?

Your immense population is, and will be, a constantly productive nursery both of soldiers and sailors, whenever the voice of liberty shall call them to combat, either by sea or land; whilst the English Cabinet will be forced to recur to the infamous expedient of pressing, and thus precipitate its ruin by calling up insurrection.

25. Ought Prussia to cherish England, Prussia *she has so cruelly played on during the present war*? Ought Russia, that can never pardon her *for having wished to humble her pride*? Ought the Emperor, whose indigence will soon exhaust the treasure of England, as his predecessors exhausted it in the war of the allies? Ought Portugal in the last stage of a consumption;—Portugal employed in collecting gold not to enrich the Tagus, but the Thames? Ought Holland, *wearied with her yoke*

Yoke, and whose impotence now acts against England herself?

Are the Sugar Islands capable of furnishing a solid basis to her grandeur, those Islands *already shaken by the example of the French Colonies*, where the people of colour are nearly reduced to the state of slaves, and where the slaves are not even on a level with the beasts of burthen. Complete your decree on the people of colour, ameliorate the condition of the slaves; you will thus protect your Islands, and soon deprive England of her's.

Can England in her immense possessions in the East Indies hope to find friends and resources? In India thirty millions of men are now under the dominion of England, a nation detested by almost the whole of Indostan, which fights for the overthrow of her power, And with what force does she sway this enormous quantity of men, this immense extent of territory?—with ten thousand English at the most, scattered over the whole surface of India, and having under their command an hundred thousand indigent and well-disciplined natives, *whose discipline may one day be turned against their masters*. Join to this picture that of the exhausted finances of all the princes of India, as well as of that India Company which will soon return to a state of annihilation, in common with all the other companies, overwhelmed with debts, and loaded with curses.

Tell us if, when the French Republicans shall show themselves in that quarter, not in driving them from thence to replace the English, but to restore commerce there on its real basis, the basis of fraternity:—Tell us if they will not then find, both in the princes and the people, so many allies, and if it will not be easy for them to overthrow a power whose colossal statue accuses imbecility and invites ruin!

In tracing this picture, it is far from our idea to
with

wish to afflict the English Nation; we are merely anxious to unmask the phantom of power on which her Ministers support themselves. As to the Nation herself, she offers to us brothers only, and we cannot aim at the destruction of our brethren. But the English Nation, at length, ought, as well as ourselves, to seek her prosperity, *not in an exclusive commerce,—not in possessions stolen from their proprietors,—not in the art of expressing the blood and sweat of the labourers and artizans of India;—but in a commerce founded on morality, on universal justice*, on the free developement of industry.—Ah! What Nation which has thus reduced herself, can pretend to higher destinies than England?—can excel her in industry, in capitals, in good order, and more especially, in morality; that morality which inspires confidence, which is the soul of true commerce?

I shall not enter more extensively into these reflections, which ought to prove to you that you have no reason to dread the junction of the Cabinet of England to your enemies.

Kerfaint has besides demonstrated to you, in the energetic description of the English Nation he has presented to you, how easy it is for you to attack her with advantage, and in almost every part of her possessions. *It is not war which you are to dread, 'tis the uncertainty respecting war. England employs all your means without any profit on your part.*

The National Convention, having heard the Report of its Committee of General Defence, decrees,

1. That the Executive Council is charged to declare to the government of England, that the intention of the French Republic is to maintain harmony and fraternity with the English Nation, and to respect her independence and that of her allies, so long as England and her allies shall not attack the French Republic.

2. The Executive Council is charged to demand of

the English Government, the execution of the fourth article of the Treaty of Commerce of 1786. That in consequence, the French Citizens travelling or residing in England, cease to be subject to the humiliating forms prescribed by the act of Parliament of the month of December last, and may travel and remain tranquilly in England, in the way the English do in France.

3. The Executive Council is charged to demand of the government of England, that the French may, like other foreigners, freely export from Great Britain and Ireland, corn and other provisions and commodities; and that they may, conformably to the treaty of 1786, be subjected to no other prohibitions than foreigners in general.

4. Lastly, The Executive Council is charged to demand of the English Government, what is the object of the armaments recently ordered, and whether they are directed against France; reserving to itself (the Council) in case of a refusal of satisfaction on all these points, the right of immediately taking the measures which the interest and safety of the Republic require.

*Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the
National Convention, Tuesday, December 11, 1792.*

MINISTER of FOREIGN AFFAIRS—The British Parliament, which had been prorogued till the month of January, has just been unexpectedly assembled, and commenced its Sittings on the 13th instant. This extraordinary measure must naturally awaken the attention of this government on its causes and consequences; and it becomes my duty to apprize the Convention of whatever facts I have been able to come at.

Shortly

Shortly after the immortal 10th of August, and the change which was then introduced into the form of our government, the English minister was pleased to put a stop to every official communication with us, and to recall the ambassador stationed at our Court, either because he was persuaded that the term of Counter-Revolution and of our slavery was near at hand, or merely because, as was observed by the celebrated orator of the opposition in the first sitting of the British Senate, he thought it indecent and unworthy of His Royal Britannic Majesty to have a representative near an Executive Council, the members of which had not been anointed by the holy oil at the high altar of Rheims. Be this as it may, the Executive Provisional Council has not deemed it necessary to adopt the same plan; on the other hand, it has continued to maintain in London a minister of the French Republic, and has expressly charged that minister to omit no opportunity of assuring the British Nation, that notwithstanding the unfavourable disposition of its Government towards France, the French Nation desires nothing more ardently than to merit its esteem, and to preserve the good harmony and friendship which should always subsist between two generous and free nations.

The National Convention has received, on different occasions, the clearest proofs of the reciprocal regard, and of the sincere interest that the English have in the success of our arms, and in the triumph of French Liberty. But these glorious events have a quite contrary effect upon the English minister. In a moment, the dread and jealousy of our victories, the entreaties of cowardly rebels, the vile intrigues of hostile courts, and the secret suspicions that the numerous addresses from all parts of England excited, determined him to more decisive military preparations, and to an immediate assembling of Parliament.

The National Assembly will see that the speeches subjoined, having for their ostensible and principal intention to oppose the popular fermentation that has for some time prevailed in England, are also, to a certain degree, directed against France, which clearly indicate many imputations which cannot be misunderstood, though expressed in general terms. When the moment arrives of answering these accusations, the French Government will find no difficulty to justify itself fully. It will appeal to the sense of all Europe, and to the testimony of Mr. Pitt himself---it will then appear that he ought to be accused of having excited, by the most corrupt means, distrusts, doubts, and disorders

Certainly, if the agents themselves, whom we maintain in London, and whose authority is not acknowledged there, could have been legally suspected of those manœuvres which belong to imbecility only; if their conduct had not been at the same time loyal and circumspect, can it be believed, that the members of the English ministry would have requested to see them confidentially, to hold communications with them, and to grant them secret conferences? I shall lay before any Committees the National Convention shall be pleased to point out, the exact details of these conferences; the complaints, the objections, the replies, as well as the offers and proposals, which have been reciprocally made. I shall also state the instructions which have been given to our agents under these delicate circumstances; and lastly, the state of the armaments which have been ordered.

But these Armaments ought not yet to alarm us, since they are only four ships of the line more than in former years; of the sixteen ships that are ordered, ten are guard-ships, the oldest and worst ships in the English Navy; and the KING has declared, that this Armament will not occasion any extraordinary tax, and that the sums applied to the Sinking Fund of the National Debt will

will be sufficient for the purpose. It follows, however, that the pretexts of this armament are the three following :

1st, The opening of the *Scheldt* :

2d, Your Decree of the 19th of November :

3d, Your supposed designs against *Holland*.

To the first of these points, a reply has been made by arguments founded on the right of nature, on the right of man, and on all the principles of Justice and Liberty consecrated by the French Nation, and the full and entire enjoyment of which that nation could not refuse to the Belgians. It has been replied, that treaties snatched by cupidity, and consented to by despotism, could not bind the free and liberated Belgians. A reply has been given by the silence *England* itself preserved in 1785, when the same question was hostilely agitated by JOSEPH the SECOND.

To the second complaint, a reply was made by a frank exposure of the true interests by which the National Convention was impelled, when it framed this benevolent decree. There are two distinct cases to which this Decree can and ought to be applied, either with respect to the nations under the dominion of powers with which we are at war, or with relation to the countries governed by powers absolutely neutral; and here there can be no difficulty. In the first case, the Decree will find its direct application, and that in the most extensive latitude, without giving umbrage to any Foreign Power. By the second hypothesis, it is clear, that the intention of the National Convention has never been to engage itself in making the cause of a few Foreign Individuals the cause of the whole French Nation. But when a nation kept in subjection by a Despot, shall have had the courage to break its chains; when this nation, restored to Liberty, shall so have constituted itself as clearly to express its general wish; when this general wish shall call for the assistance and fraternity of the French Nation; it

it is then that the Decree of the 19th of November will find a natural application; and we doubt whether any one can express a surprise at it. It is then that we shall bestow on a Nation newly freed, a prop, which we ourselves would, under similar circumstances, have desired, and which probably we should have hoped to find from another Free Nation. To this general reply has been added an observation, which has more especially related to the reproach made to us with respect to *Holland*: it is to this effect—“ *That it was much to be wished, that the British Ministry had never meddled more with the internal Government of that Republic, than we ourselves wish to meddle.*”

In fine, Citizen President, I have charged the Minister of the French Republic at London, to demand a new conference with Lord Grenville, Minister for Foreign Affairs; and after having demonstrated to him the injustice of the views imputed to us, I have authorized him to declare, in the name of the French Republic, that if the intention of the English minister is to produce, at all events, a rupture with us, as we shall have given every explanation to prove the purity of our intentions, and our respect for the independence of other powers, it will then be evident, that the war will be only the war of the British minister against us; and we will not fail to make a solemn appeal to the English nation (*applaudes*); we will present to its just and generous tribunal, the merits of a cause, in which a great nation supports the rights of nature, of justice, of liberty, and of equality, against a minister, who shall have provoked this war from personal motives.

In short, we will leave it to the English nation to judge between us, and the issue of this contest may lead to consequences which he (the minister) did not expect.—(*Applauded.*)

I wait, citizens, the effect of this declaration, and will
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immediately make it known to the National Convention.

It was then moved, that this paper should be printed, and sent to the departments*.

* In the foregoing extracts the figures from Page 91 to Page 103—point out where parts of the original report have been omitted, as not essential to the object of the present publication.

An exact Translation from a Speech made in the National Convention at Paris (on the 14th of December, in a Debate on the subject of establishing Public Schools for the Education of Youth), by Citizen Dupont, a Member of considerable weight.—And, as the doctrines contained in it were received with unanimous applause, except from two or three of the Clergy, it may fairly be considered as an Exposition of the Creed of that enlightened Assembly.—Translated from Le Moniteur of Sunday the 16th of December 1792.

WHAT! Thrones are overturned! Sceptres broken! Kings expire! And yet the alters of GOD remain! (Here there is a murmur from some Members; and the Abbé ICHON demands, that the person speaking may be called to order.) Tyrants, in outrage to nature, continue to burn an impious incense on those altars! (Some murmurs arise, but they are lost in the applauses from the majority of the Assembly.) The thrones that have been reversed, have left these altars naked, unsupported, and tottering. A single breath of enlightened reason will now be sufficient to make them disappear. And if humanity is under obligations to the French nation for the first of these benefits, the fall of kings, can it be doubted but that the French people, now sovereign, will be wise enough, in like manner, to overthrow those altars and *those idols*, to which those kings have hitherto made them subject?---

Nature

Nature and reason, these ought to be the Gods of men ! These are my Gods ! (Here the Abbé Audrein cried out, " There is no bearing this ;" and rushed out of the Assembly---A great laugh !)---Admire nature---cultivate reason---And you, legislators, if you desire that the French people should be happy, make haste to propagate these principles, and to teach them in your primary schools, instead of those fanatical principles which have hitherto been caught.

The tyranny of Kings was confined to make their people miserable in this life—but those other tyrants, the priests, extend their dominions into another, of which they have no other idea than of eternal punishments ; a doctrine which some men have hitherto had the good nature to believe. But the moment of the catastrophe is come—all these prejudices must fall at the same time. *We must destroy them, or they will destroy us.* For myself ! I honestly avow to the Convention---*I am an Atheist !* (Here there is some noise and tumult---but a great number of Members cried out—" What is that to us—You are an honest man.") But I defy a single individual, amongst the twenty-four millions of Frenchmen, to make against me any well-grounded reproach. I doubt whether the Christians, or the Catholics, of which the last Speaker, and those of his opinion, have been talking to us, can make the same challenge.---(Great applauses.) There is another consideration : Paris has great losses : it has been deprived of the commerce of luxury ; of that factitious splendour which was found at Courts, and invited strangers hither. Well ! We must repair these losses.---Let me then represent to you the times that are fast approaching, when our philosophers, whose names are celebrated throughout Europe—PETION, SYEYES, CONDORCET, and others---surrounded in our pantheon, as the Greek philosophers were at Athens, with a crowd of disciples coming from all parts of Europe,

rope, walking like the Peripatetics, and teaching—this man, the system of the universe, and developing the progress of all human knowledge; that unperfectioning the Social System, and shewing in our Decree of the 17th of June 1789, the seeds of the insurrection of the 14th of July, and 10th of August, and of all those insurrections which are spreading with such rapidity throughout Europe—so that these young strangers, on their return to their respective countries, may spread the same lights, and may operate *for the happiness of mankind*, similar Revolutions throughout the World.

(Numberless applauses arose, almost throughout the whole Assembly—and in the Galleries.)

The Speech of KERSAINT to the French National Convention, with the Resolutions of that Body respecting a War with England.

THE National Convention transmit to you (*the Members of the Executive Council*) the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the conduct of the English Government, together with the proposition I have had the honour to submit to you, for the purpose of preparing for a naval war, if the safety and dignity of the Republic should render such a measure necessary.

I shall divide my sentiments on this very important subject into two parts. In the first, I shall endeavour to point out the designs of the English Minister. In the second, I shall consider the probable consequences that will ensue from the war with which we are now threatened.

Should the Court of London declare war against us, we shall immediately ascertain what maritime powers coalesce; we may also rest assured, that we shall have to

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contend with them all, and at one period. Of their number—of their hostile inclinations, I entertain no doubt : I entertain doubts only of the extent of their power. The governments of England, of Spain, of Holland, of Russia, of Portugal, are all your enemies, for they are all * * *—of these, however, let us concentrate our attention on the most powerful ; let us direct our view to that government that waxes the rod of power over a people, who, enjoying a degree of liberty, have, on that account, been formidable to us in a period when we were slaves ; let us consider well the extent of the resources of this government ; let us develop its intention ; let us attempt to discover the object to which they tend. In the conduct of the English government, I perceive the action of three distinct principles, all foreign, I hope, to the inclinations of the people of England.

1. The hatred which the king of England bears towards the French, and the apprehensions entertained by his Majesty with respect to the security of his crown, apprehensions which have alone occasioned his sincere regard for Louis XVI. a regard that has received an accession of strength from the support of those natural and declared enemies of France, the members of the aristocracy and episcopacy of England.

2. The alarm and uneasiness of the Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, who for eight years has reigned lord paramount of England, and whose fall is alike threatened by the tempests of a revolution, and the storms of a war. This second principle is connected with the first, by the Aristocracy of Finance, and by those numerous agents whom those men find it necessary to employ ; and this knot, in the event of a war, will receive such a degree of tension, that England will endeavour to resist in vain.

3. The ambition and the genius of Mr. Fox, and the *intrigues* of Opposition, who take advantage of every event

event that tends to diminish the popularity of the English Minister ; who having artfully encouraged hopes and expectations of reformation, in order to agitate the minds of the people, have converted those hopes and those expectations into fears and apprehensions. This consequence, which they did not foresee, has left them at the mercy of the English Government, and has drawn upon their heads a chastisement sufficient to convince free men of the dangers of party and of intrigue. If we seek the cause of this effect, perhaps fatal to the world, we shall find it in the character of that great Orator, who, by the force of genius, keeps alive the reputation of a party the last weak support of the defenders of the Liberty of England. The friend of men, the parasite of kings, the vigorous opposer of the English Administration, the superstitious admirer of the English Constitution, a popular aristocrate, a democratic loyalist, Mr. Fox has but one object in view, that of hurling his rival from his throne, and of retrieving at once so many parliamentary defeats, not less injurious to his interest than inimical to his reputation.

In this eventful period, his more prudent antagonist must bring the whole extent of his power into action. He must court popularity, while he cherishes the aristocracy of his party. He must bow to Royalty, even while he waves the wand of despotism. In the midst of war, should a war take place, he must endeavour to preserve his power undiminished, and whatever events may happen, he must be possessed of the same ascendancy which the Opposition attack even in the bosom of peace.

In England it is a fact so well known, as to be an established axiom in politics, that the minister who declares war never sees the end of it. Mr. Pitt knows that a war will put a period to the existence of his power. Mr. Pitt consequently would willingly avoid a war. But

what is the will of other interested parties? The king desires a * * for obvious reasons. Mr. Fox would draw the minister into an ambuscade, and force him to defend the unpopular conduct of Government. Mr. Pitt, with a hope of not being reduced to the necessity of a war, offers to mediate among the Belligerent Powers. He knows that all the members of administration are his tools; he possesses eloquence, the key of the Treasury, and the theory of corruption. The Satellites that move around him, emigrants from France, and the aristocrats of England, point out to him two modes of conduct, both of which he means to adopt. The one is to arrest us in our rapid career of victory by land, by threatening us with a naval war. The other is, to bring us, by dint of his mediation, to terms of accommodation with our enemies.

These ideas have seduced him.—The *Bird's eye prospect* that has been afforded him of our situation, has induced him to consider success certain; and indeed, our internal agitations, the apparent disorder that has infused itself into our Legislative discussions, the amount of our expences, the quarrels of parties; all these external characteristics of one of the most violent convulsions that ever agitated the political body of any nation, in some degree justify his expectations. But he forgets that a sense of public danger will re-unite us. He forgets that those agitations which have made so much noise, express the extent of our strength; a strength that never can belong to a body enfeebled by disorder and disease. He forgets, that though our expences are great, they bear but very little proportion to our resources. He forgets that France has but one voice, and that we possess still several millions, of which we cannot make a more honourable use than by employing them in the establishment of our independence, both external and internal. He forgets that the number of our enemies, instead of discouraging

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us, will stimulate us to activity more energetic, and will call our resources into action more vigorous and effectual. He forgets that a people who stretch forth their arm with one accord, who unanimously venture their lives and fortunes in the common cause, can never, never be subdued. Finally, he forgets that we can never want soldiers or money, and that the number of our enemies cannot appal men who are placed in the glorious necessity of being forced to conquer or die.

If England, without any provocation, in contempt of the Law of Nations, declares war against us, remember, O my Countrymen, the conduct of Cortez, who set fire to his ships in the presence of his troops just landed on the plains of Mexico.

Having now considered the situation of the English Government, suffer me to arrest your attention to the disposition of the English People, who are not yet reduced to that state of degradation to pass for nothing in the consideration of an impending rupture with this country.—We are accustomed by the generic name of English, to mean three different descriptions of people, whom nature has separated, whom force has reunited, whom interest incessantly disunites, and whom the principles of our Revolution have affected in a very different manner

The English People, like all conquerors, have for a long while oppressed Scotland and Ireland; but it is necessary to remark, that these two latter nations, always restless, and secretly revolting at the injustice of the English, have acquired at different epochs conceptions which permit them now to hope that they shall at length obtain their ancient independence.—I pause not here to make observations on the differences which agitate Ireland and England. Every one is acquainted with the Parliament of Ireland, her Lord Lieutenant, and that species of Liberty which she pre-
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cured by force during the American war. But every one does not know the machinations used by the Parliament of England to arrest the operation of the natural industry of Ireland, and to check the extension of her commerce. The Catholics of that country are still subject to the Gothic and barbarous laws of those intolerant days in which they were enacted; and in this *half-way* state of independence, they seem, with eyes directed towards us, to say, "Come, shew yourselves, and we shall be free."

The Scotch groan under other sorrows. Ever since the Union, Scotland has been represented in Parliament, but in a manner so disproportionate to her wealth, her extent and her population, that she is not in fact any more than a Colony dependant on England; the Scotch, however, know their rights, and the amount of their resources. The principles of the French Revolution have been firmly defended in that Country, and those defenders have been honoured with the first persecutions of the English Government; but these persecutions have made converts, and no where has greater satisfaction at our successes been evinced, than in the Cities of Scotland, in the chief of which public illuminations have been made.

Ireland and Scotland, attentive to the progress of the French Revolution, know in what manner we have spoken of the English People. It will be difficult to persuade them that it is necessary, in contempt of all the principles of Equity, to pay fresh taxes to carry on a war against us, because we have procured for a people the use of a river that gives them a free communication with the ocean, and opens even to the English, a more direct mode of communication with the Belgic Provinces. But are the English People speaking openly, in a temper of mind hostile to the French; or can the English Government direct that temperament

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at will? I must confess that the inhabitants of London, and of the principal Cities of England, have conducted themselves in the present crisis with profound address.—Such is the power of the English Government, that it is almost omnipotent—it binds a multitude of men by the chain of interest.—The mercantile and revenue Aristocracy abound in greater proportion in England than they did in France previous to the Revolution of 1789—these men are now the auxiliaries of the Court and Parliament; and they make a great noise about our confusion, our anarchy, our weakness, and the events of those days which we would willingly blot from the historic page; they alarm the Country Gentlemen—the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy assist them with all their might—with their natural weapon, hypocrisy, they take advantage of their credit with the people, to extinguish the impression made upon their minds by our successors, and by those truths which we have proclaimed to the world.

You have not forgotten, you never can forget, that the Government of England carried on a war against her Colonies, in opposition to the wishes of the People, and solely for the purpose of indulging the inclinations of ***.

O England! formerly the Land of Freedom!—O England, the birth-place of SIDNEY, of MILTON, what friend of man can now behold thee without a tear? Who can view with unconcern the Tower of London transformed into a mansion not very dissimilar to that which the English themselves surveyed with such horror in Paris? Who can see without emotion the Liberty of the Press invaded, and the freedom of opinion banished from the land where those two pillars of the public weal were erected by the tutelary genius of the Rights of Man? PRIESTLEY the Philosopher,

persecuted; PAINE proscribed; COOPER and WALKER attacked even in their houses, for having dared to think that man was free.

Such is at this moment the condition of this once famous Island; the ascendancy of the Aristocracy, of the Nobility, of the Clergy, and of the rich Men, is such in London, that our debates, read with such avidity, heard with such attention, and holding such rank in the history of this Country, are industriously banished from the capital. Who would believe it?—The Inquisition of Spain never acted with more art than the Government of England does at this moment, to influence the opinion of the people, and to awaken in their minds their ancient prejudices against us, for the purpose of intercepting the light of truth in a Country which they would consign to ignorance and slavery.

The watchful conduct, however, of the Government of England, its fears and its jealousies, afford proofs of the progress which the opinions of the French Revolution have made.

It is not with his wealth, his Priests, and his Lords, that Mr. PITT will arm his soldiers and his sailors—He can only arm them by deluding the people—We must therefore withdraw the veil from their eyes, and if a fleet should be detached against us, why should not the French Admiral address the English Sailors in the following manner :

‘ Englishmen, men who have fought against the despotism of their King; who have driven from their country the Armies of two of the most powerful Military Nations of Europe, are still forced to fight to defend their liberties. You ought to be well aware of the cause you are come to avenge. Have the French invaded your country? Have they interrupted your Na-

igation, insulted your Nation, refused to discharge towards your fellow-citizens the duties of hospitality? Have you, in the wide-spread extent of your Empire, one charge to make against the Agents of the Republic? No.—Since, then, nothing can justify the war into which you are dragged, and since, without reason, our blood is to tinge those waves which we ought to press in peace, and on which we ought to embrace as Brothers—extend to us your hands in amity—Frenchmen have said, that “men are born equally free—that laws ought to have for their object the enjoyment of Liberty and Equality; these they have called the Rights of Man.”—O People of England! this is the crime of which the French have been guilty. It has armed against them Kings, Lords, Priests; for these, men banish from their system of morality and politics all ideas of Equality. But the French appeal to your conscience, and to your unbiassed reason—Will you make war with them because they have promulgated your rights and their own? Is it true that the effects of these truths have enraged those who every where oppress and despise their species, and who dare to enjoy in the bosom of wealth those luxuries which are procured by the sweat and labour of their fellow creatures? But will you who are brought to fight us, you, whose strength and courage are about to be exerted on the side of avarice and ambition, will you assist those who despise you?—Answer us—what is your condition? what are your hopes? and what will be the effect of your endeavours, should you triumph, or otherwise? We will inform you. If we fail, Liberty will be banished from Europe, perhaps from the world for ever. If we succeed, you will be free; for it is for the Rights of Man that we contend, and if you are men, our victory will be your own. Speak now, do you wish to contend against us? Answer us, are you our enemies or our friends?

Perhaps this Address, if it were heard by the People of

England would terminate all our anxieties, and would attach to us even that nation that now seems hostile to us. The conviction of those truths I have delivered, has infused itself into the minds of many persons in England. Government will fear the disclosure of them.—The event of a war will accelerate it.

This observation recalls me more immediately to the subject in discussion.

In recurring to the observations I have made, I can only discover additional motives to confirm me in my former opinion of the ultimate views of Mr. Pitt—he wishes to avert the consequences of our Revolution from England—he hopes, at least, by his armaments and his negotiations, to turn the current of the public dissatisfaction from a particular object, by the expectation of a war, which he will not enter into he till has excited the ancient prejudices of the people of England, and established a malcontent party in France.—I believe that he will be disappointed in both his expectations, particularly in that which relates to us—he judges our country by his own—France emancipated, France cannot be influenced by fear.—She will receive laws only from herself—One or two men govern * * * *—here the public opinion governs us.—In ***** two parties dispute the possession of power—in France, we contend, only for the applause of the people.—In ***** ministers are the rulers of the nation—in France they are but clerks. Mr. Pitt acknowledges the government only in his own popularity—in France, it is acknowledged in the will of the people. I will attempt to develop the character of this man, whose errors may become, in the crisis, so fatal to the world. Let him attend to me—Let him know that there is no similitude between a country that oppresses liberty and France, where liberty appears on the horizon for the first time, free from aristocratic attachments, “*Glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy.*”——Let him

him know that we fear not kings, and that if we suffer our late monarch to exist, we will not permit him to make treaties that are not ratified by the nation.

Let him know that we can live in peace with kings, but that we can only fraternize with the people. Let him know that we will make peace only on conditions that are honourable to ourselves, and that shall confirm the independence of that people from whose shoulders we have removed the galling yoke. Let him know that we fear not war, and that the first gun fired on the seas will impose upon us the duty of emancipating Holland, Spain, and South America—a duty not above our courage and our resources, aided as we are in all those countries by the evident interests of the people, and by a majority that invites us thither.

In short, let him know that the anarchists of every description are fallen into contempt; that their dupes will not long remain so; and that our agitations are like those of the Ocean;—the surface indeed is moved, but the mass is tranquil.

I now proceed to examine the consequences of the war with which we are threatened, and to reason upon the supposition, that the war with England should draw us into a general war with all the powers of Europe.—Let not this truth alarm us; our interest requires, that in this struggle there should be no neutrals; and if we are obliged to it, I propose that we should make this general proclamation, addressed to all Nations—“That in a war of Kings against Men, we can only acknowledge friends or enemies.” Policy counsels this resolution, apparently desperate, but the motives for which I am now to explain: England is a power so preponderant in Commerce and Navigation, that other nations are, as it were, the factors only of their business. France stands alone on her own industry and riches. But Spain, Portugal, and Holland, and the little Republics of Italy, traffic on the capital and

produce of English industry ; and the treasures of the New World, and those of Asia, are at this moment tributary to the active industry of the merchants and manufacturers of that nation. Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, have an apparent fund of commerce in their naval stores, which seem peculiar to themselves. But this fund of commerce even is exchanged by the English merchants, nor is there a lucrative branch of traffic that is not carried on to the profit of this truly mercantile people.

I know that it is a bold and hardy enterprize to declare singly against a world of enemies. But if great hazards are connected with such an enterprize, it offers also great resources. Were we to attack the nations themselves, the proposition would be ridiculous, and would not merit a discussion ; but the people would be in this war but a passive instrument, and as they must experience losses without indemnification, they would be most easily convinced that it was unjust, and their voices who fought us, would at last join in our triumphs.—We have not sufficiently reflected on the advantages of nations who fight in a body, who make war for themselves, for whom it is a common cause. There is a use in recollecting, now Europe menaces us with a general war, what weak nations, when devoted, when resolved as we are, to live free or die, have done in circumstances nearly similar. A review of the courageous resistance of the Athenians, whose territory in extent and population did not equal the least of our Departments—of the terrible war they supported for thirty-eight years against all the neighbouring nations—which was as fatal to Greece as to the Athenians themselves—is the greatest monument that History has transmitted us of the courage, the ferocity, and the genius of man—It is also a proof of what the genius of Liberty may effect.

A more recent example presents itself, that of the *Dutch shaking off the yoke of Philip II.* “ A little nook

of land (says Voltaire) almost drowned in the sea, which subsisted by catching herrings, is become a formidable power; it checked Philip II. despoiled his successors of nearly all they possessed in the East Indies, and in the end became their protectors." So much greatness was the work of Philip's persecution: ours shall be the fruit of the persecution of all the kings of Europe; but it will cost us our treasures! Be it so, if war impoverishes us, it will force us to change our manners, and put us on a par with the spirit of the Revolution. A sea war will bring our armies to the defence of our frontiers, and it is in these we shall be invincible; and if Spain, England, and Holland, attack us, Asia and America will call aloud to us. Let us vigorously push our enterprize into these rich countries. Let us recollect it was a pope who gave America to Spain.

If we consider the vast field that this hardy resolution opens to the courage and activity of our sailors, the vast resources that it presents to you; if you rest your thoughts upon that multitude of vessels, richly freighted, which will be the frequent prey of your privateers; if in a sea war, you call together that crowd of wandering men, who are to be found in all the nations of Europe; if you adopt them and associate them in your enterprizes; if this nation, whose maritime commerce must be suspended the moment a war commences, directs its resources and enterprize towards the warlike operations of the navy, in concert with the government; if you attack at once with your whole force (for a naval war must be essentially offensive), the richest possessions of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, you will then see those Powers astonished at their defeat, feel their resources drying up, for you will have struck the spring of their riches.

The credit of England rests upon fictitious wealth, the real riches of this people are scattered every where, and is essentially personal estate. Bounded in territory, the pub-

tic fortune of England is found almost wholly in its Bank, and this edifice is totally supported by the wonderful activity of their naval commerce. Asia, Portugal, and Spain, are the most advantageous markets for the productions of English industry; we should shut these markets to the English, by opening them to all the world.

We must attack Lisbon and the Brazils, and carry an auxiliary army to Tippo Sultan.

Portugal, with respect to defence, is a nullity. A fleet which should penetrate the Tagus, after having exhausted the country by contributions, after having destroyed the arsenals, should terminate its successes by first taking, and then liberating Brazil.

An expedition directed against the English East Indies would, at the same time, threaten the establishment of Holland, the important colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, Ceylon, &c. &c. There you would meet only with men enervated by luxury, soft beings that would tremble before the soldier of Liberty.

The Spaniard bears in the recesses of his soul the mark of a high mind, which renders him worthy to be free; in Europe he would weakly defend the cause of the Bourbons; in America he calls to you, and you ought to march to Mexico, while you menace the English; for this mass of enemies will present you with a valuable advantage; that each will be forced to put itself on the guard, and you will no where have more than one at once to engage.

The Republics of Italy offer you maritime prizes, of which the loss will fall on the English commerce, from the superior interest of the London merchants in their cargoes. The forces of these little states are nothing in themselves, and may, by falling into your hands, serve to assist and strengthen yours.

England, Spain, Holland, and Russia, present a considerable

derable numerical force in ships, but I see only the English and the Russians who can act to together.

Spain must be busied in the defence of her numerous possessions.

If you push war in Zealand with vigour, you will nip the naval force of the Stadtholder in the bud, and the patriotic party, which has so long called you to its assistance, will, with your aid, soon prevent it from springing into strength.

If you direct a naval war as you ought, you will indemnify yourself for the expences of a land war; and perhaps, after the examples of the Athenians and the Dutch, France, all-powerful as she is in her armies, will be indebted for the consolidation of her liberties to her naval force.

All your foreign possessions are at this moment a surcharge to you, which cost you treasures, and return you none. If the English seize them, your captures will be lucrative on the other hand, and the emancipation of Mexico will balance the loss of a few little islands.

But your colonies will defend themselves with bravery, and it is very possible your enemies will fail in their enterprize, for the warlike spirit has already displayed itself; the civil war, and the forces which circumstances have obliged us to support there, and those which you have recently sent, will put them in a respectable state of defence. I have this opinion, that the parties there will unite to remain Frenchmen, and that they seize this opportunity to prove their attachment to the Mother Country. If they prove ungrateful children, they neither merit your efforts nor your regret. If in the end the English become masters of your colonies, it will be forced to keep them, and this surcharge will weaken them, while your forces, disengaged, will secure ample possessions to you elsewhere.

I suppose that your enemies will attempt an invasion of your coast; do you doubt of their being repelled by our
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brave coast guards? England, threatened with an invasion, and having only her ships to defend her, will be obliged to keep at home a great part of her fleet and army for her internal defence.

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But the Russians—Will the Turks give no uneasiness to the Russians? and the Swedes, the only people who seem to hold out the hand to us; will they make no effort to stop the barbarians who threaten their liberty? In any case, the Russians and Dutch confederated, will be checked in the English ports by our fishing vessels, always in readiness to transport there one hundred thousand French; for by this expedition we must terminate the quarrel, and form with the English a treaty, which shall regulate the destiny of nations, and found the Liberty of the world.

It results from the particular and general considerations to which we have called your attention, that constant and firm in your principles, you should avoid the provocation of a war, but that equally distant from every fear, you ought to be ready to repel all unjust aggressions; that the war with which you are menaced, should be fatal to those who shall provoke it, and that you should prepare to sustain yourselves with vigour against England and her allies.

I therefore propose to you to pass the following Decree:

I. To declare that the French are ready for war—ready to form an alliance—with the English people,

II. To order the equipment of thirty ships of the line, and twenty-four frigates. To put the coasts into a state of defence, and to send into all the maritime departments, commissioners charged to superintend every thing that may assure success in a war.

III. To examine the situation of the agents of the French Republic with foreign powers, and to render their situation less precarious, without delay.

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IV. To form a committee of general defence, taking three members from each of the following committees—the marine, war, diplomatic, commercial and financial.

The Assembly adopted the last of Kerfaint's propositions, and referred the others to the examination of the committee whose formation they had decreed.

Reply of General Harville to the Remonstrances of the Provisional Representatives of the City of Namur, against the Decree of the National Convention of the 15th of December.

*“ Quarters General at Namur, Dec. 27, 1792.
First year of the French Republic.*

“ CITIZENS, I have received a letter in which you require of me the suspension of the publication of the decree of the 15th instant, made by the French Convention. You are of opinion that it militates against the liberty of the Belgic provinces; and guided by the example of several other cities, you are about to remonstrate to the deputies of the French nation, against the dispositions of this decree. Lastly, you testify your apprehension that this decree may produce, between the two nations, a misunderstanding, which your design is calculated to bring about.

“ To this language I shall reply by that of true Republican frankness and loyalty.

“ 1st, I cannot acknowledge in the administrators of the city of *Namur*, confusedly, precipitately, and irregularly chosen and formed, and consisting in part of men interested in the ancient abuses, enemies to the liberty of the people—I cannot acknowledge, I say, these administrators to be the representatives of the Province of *Namur*.

“ 2dly, Your opposition, and your reflections, will there-

fore appear to me merely those of a provisional and *subaltern* body, in the hierarchy of its political powers, and not those of a sovereign people.

“ 3dly, I find that you have no idea of the liberty about which you seem to alarm yourselves. For my part, who believe myself better acquainted with it, I think with all France, that this very liberty—that the accomplishment of all the promises of our Republic to the *Belgians*, essentially depends on *the abolition of all distinctions, of all those odious burthens on the people*, which constituted the regimen, whether despotic or aristocratic, of your ancient government.

“ 4thly, It is clear, that when the Belgic people shall be entirely freed from all their shackles, when all the citizens interested in the common liberty, shall be able to shake off the influence of charges, honours, powers, and distinctions, they will be *then* enabled to create a constitution freely chosen by the greater number, for the good of whom the societies should be organized. If your nation, placed *in this independent point of view* by the French Republic, could still deceive itself in the choice of the means of felicity, it would blindly, but at least freely, be desirous of this deception. It is not under the weight of ancient chains that man can push on towards liberty; this weight, more or less heavy, would drag it towards the earth, and it could not, after its vain efforts, do any other than crawl beneath the empire, or strength, or cunning. I shall make a comparison—you resemble certain architects, friends of luxury and decorations, who wish to preserve the remains of a building adorned by the devices of antiquity, but who nevertheless insist, that it is impossible to construct, on the same scite, a commodious house on a modern plan, for a simple and modest proprietor, who does not love architecture and the uncouth relics of antiquity. My opinion is, that *your ancient prison* ought to be destroyed, to the end that it may be replaced by an edifice,

edifice, the combination of which may be hampered by no ancient trace. Every frank and sensible man must agree in the justice of this principle.

“ I am sensible that pride and personal interest can spur on in destroying the great reason of the public weal ; but do you really think that if I consulted the country people, the artisans and labourers, all those men whom luxury reduced to be the slaves of the vanity of the privileged classes—do you think, I say, that they would demand, like you, the suspension of a decree which exempts them from manorial drudgery, from the duties of excise, from feudal rights and servitude, and which restores to them all the dignity which belongs to man, in declaring them to be members of the sovereign, and susceptible of holding all public charges ? No, citizens ; and did I even ask them, they would assure me that your wish, decorated with the fine name of the love of liberty, is not that of the people, your sovereign.

“ I will, however, give you, citizens, a proof of my respect even for the shadow of your liberty, in referring your letter to the deputies of the representatives of France ; but I assure you that nothing shall stop me, as soon as I shall have received their farther resolutions.

“ As to the tempest with which you seem to threaten us, it is your own business, especially if your liberty is so dear to you, to prevent it ; and I am sorry to be constrained by yourselves to intimate to you, that its not he that fails before the wind, and whose power and skill do guide the helm, that fears tempests and shipwrecks. If prejudices could bring it about to destroy that harmony which we have cultivated with solicitude, that fraternity which would prove so sweet to us, I would then show you *an hundred and twenty thousand men in Belgia, nay all France*, and you would see that we are neither without strength nor without courage, to fell to the ground those monsters who should have diffused the poison of discord. But,

God forbid, citizens, ignorance, personal interest, and prejudices, should ever bring matters to that point : peace and concord, will, I hope, be always our common motto, and I will support it with all my efforts. Besides I, the officers and foldiers of the Republic shall be vigilant, our eye shall be every where, and woe betide the incendiaries and conspirators.

(Signed)

“ Lieutenant-General

“ AUGUSTUS HARVILLE.”

Lettre du Ministère de la Marine aux amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité, dans les Villes Maritimes. Paris, le 31 Decembre 1792, l'an premier de la République.

LE Gouvernement d'Angleterre fait armer, et le roi d'Espagne, encouragé par lui, se prépare à nous attaquer. Ces deux puissances tyranniques, après avoir persécuté, les patriotes sur leur territoire, croient sans doute influencer le jugement du traître Louis. Elles espèrent nous effrayer ; mais non, le peuple que s'est rendu libre, le peuple qui a vu chasser du sein de la France, jusqu'aux rives éloignées du Rhin, la redoutable armée des Prussiens et des Autrichiens, le peuple Français ne se laissera dicter des lois par aucun tyran.

Le Roy et son Parlement veulent nous faire la guerre, les Républicains Anglais le souffriront-ils ? Déjà ces hommes libres témoignent leur mécontentement et la répugnance qu'ils ont à porter les armes contre leurs frères les Français : Eh bien ! nous volerons à leurs secours, nous ferons une descente dans cette île, nous y lancerons 50 mille bonnets de la liberté, nous y planterons l'arbre sacré, et nous tendrons les bras à nos frères

Républicains; la tyrannie de leur Gouvernement sera bientôt détruite. Que chacun de nous se pénétré fortement de cette idée.

(Signé)

MONGE.

*Letter from the Minister of Marine, to the Sea Ports,
dated Paris, 31st December, 1792.*

THE Government of England is arming, and the king of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us.

These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the traitor, Louis. They hope to frighten us : but, no ; a people who has made itself free ; a people who has driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians—the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by any tyrant.

The king and his Parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it ? Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers, the French. Well ! we will fly to their succour. We will make a descent in the island : we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty : we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren. *The tyranny of their Government will soon be destroyed.* Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea.

(Signed)

MONGE.

Extra

*Extraites tirés de la discussion sur la déclaration de guerre
contre l'Angleterre et la Holland.*

BRISOT—Citoyens, vous avez renvoyé à votre Comité de sûreté générale la nouvelle pièce relative à la conduite de l'Angleterre avec la République Française.

Citoyens, la Cour d'Angleterre veut la guerre ; vous ne pouvez plus en douter. La tableau de sa conduite, que votre Comité vous a présentée 12 Janvier dernier, et qu'il serait inutile de répéter ici a dû vous préparer à cet événement. On pouvait encore espérer à cette époque que la raison ramènerait le ministère Anglais aux principes de la justice ; que, convaincu de la futilité de ses réclamations, de l'injustice de ses procédés et de ses vexations envers les Français, et craignant le courroux d'une Nation qu'il trompe, et qui pourrait à chaque instant ouvrir les yeux à la lumière, on pouvait espérer, dis je, que ce ministère abandonnerait les chicanes, et concourrait de bonne foi, avec le conseil exécutif provisoire de la France, à maintenir la paix entre les deux Nations. Cette espérance que chérissaient les hommes qui ne voient qu'avec horreur une guerre entre *deux peuples libres*, cette espérance n'est plus, les vues hostiles du cabinet de Londres sont maintenant à découvert. Un masque perfide de neutralité les voilait encore ; votre fermeté républicaine a fait tomber ce masque. Georges méditait secrètement, et de puis long tems, la guerre contre votre Liberté ; car *quel tyran* vous la pardonnera jamais ? Il a corrompu l'opinion de la Nation, il a effroyé le commerce, *il a ordonné au parlement*, il a menacé ses ministres ; et sûr de cette coalition, le moment est arrivé où il croit pouvoir impunément déployer ses forces contre votre Liberté. Il déclare la guerre, en ordonnant à votre ambassadeur de sortir de l'Angleterre sous huit jours ; il vous la déclare, en donnant publiquement *des marques de sa douleur* sur le sort de ce *conspirateur* que vous avez justement condamné au supplice ; il

VOUS

vous la déclare, en demandant au parlement, à la nouvelle de cette mort, une addition considérable de forces de terre et de mer.

Périrait plutôt l'Angleterre que de voir la République Française se consolider, tel est, n'en doutez pas, Français, le vœu barbare du roi de la Grand-Bretagne ; tel est le sens énergique de l'outrage qu'il a fait à votre ambassadeur, et des armemens qu'il ordonne.

S'il ne vous a pas sur le champ et funestement déclaré la guerre, c'est que son ministère n'a pas secondé avec assez d'activité les ordres de sa vengeance ; c'est que ses forces ne sont pas encore préparées pour détruire votre commerce, enlever vos colonies, ravager vos compagnes ; c'est que, par un raffinement de machiavélisme, il veut éviter l'apparence de l'aggression, il veut pouvoir vous en accuser auprès de la nation Anglaise ; il veut, en un mot, populariser, nationaliser cette guerre. Certes, si le peuple Anglais ne se fût pas laissé entraîner à l'impulsion de son ministère ; s'il eût examiné avec quelque attention les calomnies répandues à grands frais contre nous, il n'aurait vu dans les forfaits qu'on nous reproche, que les crimes de quelques individus, il n'aurait vu dans la France qu'un esprit, qu'un vœu ; dans notre révolution, que la conquête légitime de nos droits ; dans notre régime républicain, que le régime le plus sûr pour maintenir la liberté et l'égalité ; il n'aurait vu *enfin dans le supplice de Louis qu'un grand acte de justice* ; et convaincu de ces vérités, le peuple Anglais dirait à son roi : Les Français veulent être Republicains, ils ont aboli la royauté, puni leur roi, ils avaient droit de le faire. Leur déclarer la guerre pour les en punir, serait un acte d'injustice et la violation du droit des nations, du droit sacré de leur indépendance. Les Français ne nous combattent pas, parceque nous avons un roi. De quel droit les combattrions-nous, parce qu'ils n'en ont point ? Nous pouvons continuer d'être frères, quoique sous un régime différent.

Telle

Telle est la pensée, Citoyens, qui s'est sans doute comparée de la plus grande parties des esprits en Angleterre, en voyant les actes d'hostilités du roi George, pensée qui, *sans la terreur des haïonnettes*, se serait déjà manifestée dans un pays où la raison est cultivée parmi toutes les classes ; et partout où la raison se cultive, la République Française ne peut être long-tems sous un anathème populaire ; et voilà pourquoi, cette guerre contre la France, qu'on est parvenu, par tant d'intrigues et de dépenses, à rendre populaire en Angleterre ; voilà pourquoi, dans peu de tems, elle n'y fera qu'un objet d'horreur et d'exécration.

Sans doute, le sang qui va se verser, rejaillira sur la tête de ces ministres perfides qui ne craignent pas de sacrifier des nations entieres aux petits calculs de leur ambition ; de ces ministres qui spéculent sur *la fin ou le discredit de nos assignats*, comme sur le terme de notre Liberté. Ils ignorent donc qu'une hypothèque immense leur sert de base ; ils oublient donc que les Americains furent libres long-tems après la mort de leur propre monnaie.

Ces ministres ne finiront pas leurs jours au sein de la tranquillité ; comme ce North et ses complices, dont on crut punir suffisamment par une disgrâce ministerielle, le forfait atroce de la guerre d'Amérique. La Nation Anglaise, une fois éclairée par notre exemple, fera justice aussi de ses conspirateurs en place. La comédie de l'éternel procès de Hastings ne se renouvellera plus, et les échafauds serviront encore une fois aux Straffords et aux Lauds du régime actuel, comme aux simples brigands.

Il est une idée qui doit électriser vos ames, Citoyens ; ce n'est pas pour vous seuls que vous allez combattre, c'est pour toutes les nations de l'Europe. Une partie de *vos ennemis même* recueillent déjà les *fruits de votre* intrépidité ; car les rois craignent maintenant de vexer, d'imposer même leurs peuples. Trois millions d'hommes en

Irlande

Irlande veut être affranchis, parce que vos principes ont touché leurs rivages.

C'est l'Europe entière, ou plutôt ce sont tous les tyrans de l'Europe que vous avez maintenant à combattre et sur terre et sur mer.

Il faut que le commerçant oublie son commerce pour n'être plus qu'armateur ; que le capitaliste consacre enfin ses fonds à soutenir nos assignats, à subvenir au besoin du numéraire ; que le propriétaire et le laboureur, renoncent à toute spéculation, et portent l'abondance dans nos marchés : il faut que tout citoyen soit prêt à marcher comme un soldat Romain, c'est-à-dire, non-seulement avec ses armes, mais avec des provisions pour un temps donné, et par-là vous déjouerez les calculs de vos ennemis sur le vide de vos magasins. Il faut que tous les Français ne fassent qu'une grande armée ; que toute la France soit un camp. Il faut se préparer aux revers, s'accoutumer aux privations. L'instant approche où ce sera un crime pour tout citoyen d'avoir deux habits, si un seul de nos frères soldats est nu.

En déclarant que la France est en guerre avec le gouvernement Anglais, c'est déclarer qu'elle l'est avec le stathouder, qui est plutôt le sujet que l'allié du cabinet de St. James, qui, se prêtant à toutes ses passions, à, dans le cours de la révolution, favorisé les émigrés et les Prussiens, vexé les Français, traité avec insolence le gouvernement Français, et j'en atteste ici l'éloignement des fabricateurs de faux assignats arrêtés en Hollande ; et ce stathouder qui, maintenant pour soutenir la guerre du cabinet de Londres, joint ses vaisseaux aux vaisseaux Anglais, favorise les ennemis en traversant notre importation des grains.

D'après toutes ces considérations, votre Comité diplomatique vous propose le projet de décret suivant :

La Convention Nationale décrète ce qui suit :

T

ART. I.

ART. I. La Convention Nationale déclare, au nom de la Nation Française, qu'attendu les actes multipliés d'hostilités et d'aggressions ci-dessus mentionnés, la République Française est en guerre avec le roi d'Angleterre, et le *statboud* des Provinces Unies.

II. La Convention Nationale charge le conseil exécutif provisoire de déployer les forces qui lui paraîtront nécessaires pour repousser les aggressions, et pour entretenir l'indépendance, la dignité, les intérêts de la République Française.

III. La Convention Nationale autorise le conseil exécutif provisoire à disposer des forces navales de la République, ainsi que l'intérêt de l'Etat lui paraîtra l'exiger, et elle révoque toutes les dispositions particuliers ordonnées à cet égard par les précédens décrets.

DUCOS. La Convention Nationale de France ne déclare point la guerre au roi d'Angleterre. Je jure, en présence de l'Europe et de la postérité, que, grands dans votre longanimité, comme dans votre courage, vous avez long-tems sacrifié le juste ressentiment inspiré par les dédains, la malveillance et les outrages du gouvernement Anglais, à l'estime obstinée que vous gardiez pour une Nation qui fut libre, au désir de vous unir à elle par des liens fraternels. Pitt et Georges III. ont répondu à vos vœux d'alliance par des insultes ; à votre modération, par l'insolence et le mépris. Les ministres d'un roi, (ces grands hommes d'état !) vous ont cru sans vertus, parce que vous étiez sans préjugé ; ils vous ont cru sans gouvernement, parce que vous étiez sans roi ; ils vous ont méprisés, parce qu'ils n'étaient pas dignes de vous connaître ; et leur audace croissant avec l'opinion de notre faiblesse, ils ont voulu parler en maîtres à des hommes que le destin lui-même ne pourra maîtriser. Citoyens représentans, vous répondrez trop tard peut-être aux injures diplomatiques, aux provocations d'un *despote*, par le seul langage qui convienne à la République

lique, à coups de canons ; vous négocierez par des batailles. Le ministre de France est outrageusement expulsé d'Angleterre. C'est Pitt qui vous déclare la guerre ; Pitt, coalisé avec les tyrans de Prusse et d'Autriche, à vendu la Nation Anglaise aux plus vils passions de son maître, et à sa haine jalouse contre la Liberté Française. Eh bien ! nous saurons la défendre, et le cabinet de Saint-James n'aura pas même emporté sur la France le stérile avantage d'avoir obtenu d'elle la première hostilité.

Cependant, suffit-il de vous confier dans la justice de votre cause ? Devez-vous laisser porter sur vos têtes le soupçon d'avoir provoqué, quand vous n'avez songé qu'à vous défendre ? Citoyens, ce n'est pas après de la Nation Française que vous avez besoin d'apologie ; c'est en se précipitant toute entière sur nos frontières et sur nos flottes, qu'elle justifiera ses représentans ; mais une autre justification est réclamée, par la voix de tous les hommes libres et éclairés de l'Europe, dont le cœur suit en secret la marche de votre révolution et le cours de vos victoires, qui vous conjurent de triompher par la justice et le courage, et de mériter qu'ils vous imitent un jour. Elle est réclamée par le peuple Anglais lui-même qui rougira bientôt d'avoir porté le deuil d'un tyran, et prodigué son sang et ses trésors pour venger une ombre odieuse et avilie. La Nation Anglaise ne peut tarder à s'apercevoir avec indignation que la liberté de la parole et de la presse a été scandaleusement violée ; que l'espionnage introduit jusque dans les familles, est devenu une profession recherchée par les grands eux-mêmes, seuls dignes en effet de l'exercer, que la prérogative royale s'est transformée en pouvoir absolu ; qu'enfin la dernière barrière qui arrêta encore les entreprises du gouvernement, l'opposition, a été presque entièrement renversée par un ministère qui a trouvé plus facile de la diviser que de la combattre.

C'est à cet instant lorsque le peuple Anglaise, trompé par les proclamations mensongères et les terreurs hypocrites

crites de son gouvernement, se sentira, avec horreur, à son réveil, dans les bras du despotisme, qu'il se repentira trop tard d'avoir volé lui-même au-devant de ses fers. Vos victoires et ses pertes contribueront aussi, j'ose l'espérer, à lui ouvrir les yeux sur ses véritables dangers, et à exciter ses remords : il se souviendra de la guerre d'Amérique, provoquée par ses cris, et terminée à sa honte.

Il est citoyens, un moyen simple et noble à la fois, de montrer avec éclat les principes de justice, de générosité, et même les mouvemens d'affection qui ont dirigé votre conduit à l'égard de l'Angleterre depuis le commencement de la négociation si scandaleusement rompue. Donnez l'ordre au pouvoir exécutif de publier sur le champ toute sa correspondance et celle du ministre de France à Londres, avec le gouvernement Anglais. Voilà le seul manifeste digne d'un peuple aussi fort de la pureté de ses intentions et de la bonté de sa cause, que le la puissance de ses armes.

Cette correspondance témoignera devant vos commetans votre amour pour la paix, et les sacrifices que vous offriez pour ménager le sang du peuple, en lui épargnant de nouveaux efforts d'héroïsme.

Si, entraînés par nos succès, le génie de la Liberté nous appelle encore à briser les fers de quelque Nation opprimée, ils verront si, comme nos ennemis nous en accusent, c'est à la nécessité de repousser une injuste agression, ou à l'ambition de conquérir que nous avons cédé. Ils verront avec quelle mauvaise foi le cabinet de Saint-James s'offensait des adresses présentées à notre barre par des citoyens Anglais, comme si l'Assemblée constituante n'en avait pas reçu de semblables en 1790, sans que le ministère Britannique s'en alarmât; comme si ces Anglais se montraient séditieux en réclamant des autrefois; comme si cette improbation des vœux de fraternité, exprimés par ses compatriotes, n'était pas de la part de ce ministère, qui accueillait Calonne et Bepillé
dans

dans le même tems, une preuve évidente de l'hostilité de ses intentions.

Ils verront, dans cette correspondance, avec quelle hauteur des sacrifices, que deux campagnes malheureuses auraient à peine rendus proposables, étaient exigés pour prix de l'honneur seul d'approcher de M. Pitt ; avec quelle petitesse ce cabinet à disputé à nos agens un titre, des pouvoirs, lorsqu'il ne traitait qu'avec eux, et en vertu même de ces pouvoirs ; avec quel mépris pour le principe sacré de la souveraineté des peuples il a contesté aux Nations le droit de se déclarer indépendantes, et de s'incorporer à d'autres nations ; avec quelle ignorance perfide il a exagéré l'importance de la Savoie, dans ce qu'il appelle la balance de l'Europe ; avec quel zèle officieux et disintéressé il a pris parti pour la Hollande, dans la discussion relative à l'ouverture de l'Escaut ; avec quelle crainte de s'entendre, il a refusé d'écouter les interprétations naturelles et simples données sur le décret qui promet secours et fraternité à tous les peuples qui briseront leurs fers ?

Ils y verront avec quel oubli du droit des gens et de la lettre des traités, les bills sur les assignats et sur les étrangers ont été commandés au parlement par le ministre ; avec quelle barbarie des subsistances, notre propriété saignée, ont été retenues dans les ports de la Grande Bretagne par un gouvernement qui semblait considérer des Républicains comme des bêtes féroces, que la faim seule peut dompter. Ils verront enfin avec quelle fausse pitié la nouvelle de la mort d'un tyran qui fut son ennemi, a été reçue par George III. et par quelle ironique absurdité le ministre de France, qui traitait en vertu de pouvoirs reçus d'un roi qui ne l'était plus, les a perdus à l'instant même où la tête de ce roi parjure est immolée à la justice nationale. Une observation frappera surtout en lisant cette correspondance : toutes les réclamations du ministre
Britannique

Britannique devaient former l'objet d'une négociation ; et cependant il s'est constamment refusé à poursuivre avec nous une correspondance régulière.

Que servirait d'ajouter de nouvelles preuves de sa malveillante duplicité ?

Législateurs, la publicité des démarches d'un gouvernement libre et juste, fera toujours à la fois son apologie et son éloge. C'est son premier avantage sur ses ennemis. Sachez profiter de tous les vôtres ; faites entendre à l'Europe la voix de la justice, mêlée aux chants de la victoire : mais, quand la raison a parlé, c'est à la force à la soutenir. Vengez vos droits trop long-tems insultés ou méconnus, et punissez les despotes qui oseront attaquer votre Liberté, par la délivrance de leurs peuples. Que nos frontières se couvrent de soldats, et nos ports de matelots ! que la patrie toute entière s'avance pour défendre la patrie ! Le jour des combats approche ; le printemps va renaître, et l'arbre de la Liberté doit reverdir avec la nature.

Brissot relit son projet de décret.—On demande de toutes parts à aller aux voix.

Le décret est porté à l'unanimité, ainsi qu'il suit :

Décret sur la déclaration de guerre contre le roi d'Angleterre et le Stathouder d'Hollande.

LA Convention Nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport de son Comité de Défense Générale, sur la conduite du gouvernement Anglais envers la France.

Considérant que le roi d'Angleterre n'a cessé principalement depuis la révolution du 10 Août 1792, de donner à Nation Française des preuves de sa malveillance et de son attachement à la coalition des têtes couronnées.

Qu'à cette époque, il a ordonné à son ambassadeur, à
Paris,

Paris, de se retirer, parce qu'il ne voulait pas reconnaître le conseil exécutif provisoire, crée par l'Assemblée législative.

Que le cabinet de Saint-James a discontinué à la même époque de correspondre avec l'ambassadeur de France à Londres, sous prétexte de la suspension du ci-devant roi des Français.

Que depuis l'ouverture de la Convention Nationale, il n'a pas voulu répondre à la correspondance accoutumée entre les deux Etats, ni reconnaître les pouvoirs de cette Convention.

Qu'il a refusé de reconnaître l'ambassadeur de la République Française, quoique muni de lettres de créance en son nom.

Qu'il a cherché à traverser les divers achats de *grains, armes et autres marchandises* commandés en Angleterre, soit par des citoyens Français, soit par des agens de la République Française.

Qu'il a fait arrêter plusieurs bateaux et vaisseaux chargés de grains pour la France, tandis que, contre le tenu du traité de 1786, l'exportation en continuait pour d'autres pays étrangers.

Que pour traverser encore plus efficacement les opérations commerciales de la République en Angleterre, *il a fait prohiber par un acte de parlement* la circulation des assignats.

Qu'en violation de l'article 4 du traité de 1786, *il a fait rendre* par le même, dans le cours du mois de Janvier dernier, un acte qui assujettit tous les citoyens Française résidant ou venant en Angleterre, aux formes les plus inquisitoriales, les plus vexationes et les plus dangereuses pour leur sûreté.

Que dans le même tems, et contre le tenu de l'article 1^{er} du traité de paix de 1783; il a accordé une protection, des secours d'argent aux émigrés, et même aux chefs des rebelles, qui ont déjà combattu contre la France.

qu'il

qu'il entretient avec eux une correspondance journalière et évidemment dirigée contre la révolution Française, qu'il accueille pareillement les chefs des rebelles des colonies Françaises occidentales.

Que dans le même esprit, sans qu'aucune provocation y ait donné lieu, et lorsque toutes les puissances maritimes sont en paix avec l'Angleterre, le cabinet de Saint-James a ordonné un armement considérable par mer et une augmentation à ses forces de terre.

Que cet armement été ordonné au moment où le ministère Anglais persécutait avec acharnement, ceux qui soutenaient en Angleterre *les principes de la Révolution Française*, et employait tous les moyens possibles, soit au parlement, soit au-dehors, pour couvrir d'ignominie la République Française, et pour attirer sur elle l'exécration de la Nation Anglaise et de l'Europe entière.

Que le but de cet armement destiné contre la France n'a pas même été déguisé dans le parlement d'Angleterre.

Que quoque le conseil exécutif provisoire de France ait employé toutes les mesures pour conserver la paix et la fraternité avec la nation Anglaise, et n'ait répondu aux calomnies et violations des traités, que par des réclamations fondées sur *les principes de la justice* et exprimées avec la dignité d'hommes libres, le ministère Anglais a persévéré, dans son système de malveillance et d'hostilité, continué les armemens, et envoyé une escadre vers l'escart, pour troubler les opérations de la France dans la Belgique.

Qu'à la nouvelle de l'exécution de Louis, il a porté l'outrage envers la République Française, au point de donner ordre à l'ambassadeur de France de quitter sous huit jours le territoire de la Grande Bretagne.

Que le roi d'Angleterre a manifesté son attachement à la cause de ce traître, et son dessein de la soutenir par diverses résolutions prises au moment de sa mort, soit pour nommer les généraux de son armée de terre, soit

pour

pour demander au parlement d'Angleterre une addition considérable de forces de terre et de mer, ordonner l'équipement de chaloupes canonnières.

Que la coalition secrète avec les ennemis de la France, et notamment avec l'empereur et la Prusse, vient d'être confirmée, par un traité passé avec le premier, dans le mois de Janvier dernier.

Qu'il a entraîné dans la même coalition le stathouder des Provinces-Unies ; que ce premier, dont le dévouement servile aux ordres des cabinets de Saint James et de Berlin, n'est que trop notoire, a, dans le cours de la Révolution Française, et malgré la neutralité dont il proteste, traité avec mépris les agens de France, accueilli les émigrés, vexé les patriotes Français, traversé leurs opérations, relâché, malgré l'usage reçu, et malgré la demande du ministère Français, des fabricateurs de faux assignats ; que, dans les derniers tems, pour concourir aux desseins hostiles de la Cour de Londres, il a ordonné un armement par mer, nommé un amiral, ordonné à des vaisseaux Hollandais de joindre l'escadre Anglaise, ouvert un emprunt pour subvenir aux frais de la guerre, empêché les exportations pour la France, tandis qu'il favorisait les approvisionnemens des magasins Prussiens et Autrichiens.

Considérant enfin que toutes les circonstances ne laissent plus à la République Française d'espoir d'obtenir, par la voie de négociations amicales, le redressement de ces griefs, et que tous les actes de la Cour Britannique et de Hollande sont des actes d'hostilités, et équivalent à une déclaration de guerre.

La Convention Nationale décrète ce qui suit.

ART. I. La Convention Nationale déclare, au nom de la Nation Française, qu'attendu les actes multipliés d'hostilités et d'aggressions ci-dessus mentionnés, la République Française est en guerre avec le Roi d'Angleterre et le Statbender des Provinces Unies,

II. La Convention Nationale charge le conseil exécutif provisoire de déployer les forces qui lui paraîtront nécessaires pour repousser les aggrèsions et pour entretenir l'indépendance, la dignité, les intérêts de la République Française.

III. La Convention Nationale autorise le conseil exécutif provisoire à disposer des forces navales de la République, ainsi que l'intérêt de l'Etat lui paraîtra l'exiger, et elle révoque toutes les dispositions particulières ordonnées à cet égard par les précédens décrets.

Barbaroux. Représentans, j'ai voté la guerre contre le cabinet de Saint James, parce que j'ai l'espérance de voir le peuple Anglais sortir enfin de la stupeur où l'a plongé la longue habitude de son esclavage constitutionnel, et nous venger lui même d'une Cour qui pousse à leur destruction respectueuse, deux peuples qui devraient être unis pour le bonheur du monde. Les guerres maritimes sont le fléau le plus destructeur des hommes.

Fabre, d'Eglantines. Je demande qu'indépendamment de la publication de la correspondance ministérielle avec la Cour de Londres, et des discours de Brissot et Ducos, vous fassiez une Adresse directe au le peuple Anglais, au nom de la Nation Française, et qu'il sera décrété que vous accordiez aux Anglais et Hollandais qui résident en France la protection des loix.

Saint-André. La Nation Anglaise nous saura gré de lui avoir ouvert les yeux sur ses ministres, sur son tyran. J'appuie les propositions de Fabre d'Eglantines.

Camille-Desmoulins. Brissot menace le peuple Anglais d'une banqueroute; et certes, y a-t-il au moyen plus sûr d'intéresser le peuple Anglais contre vous, que de lui dire que dans un an il sera ruiné.

Barrère. Quand le ministre des affaires étrangères est venu vous annoncer que le moment n'était pas loin peut-être où la Nation Française ferait un appel solennel

nel a la Nation Anglaise, vus l'avez contert d'applaudissemens.

Cette Adresse remplira ce but ; elle doit faire connaître cette distinction que nous savons faire entre l'Angleterre et son gouvernement ; elle *laissera le despotisme dans toute sa nudité*, hideux, et chargé de tout la responsabilité d'une guerre qu'il n'aura entreprise que pour satisfaire un vain orgueil. L'Adresse n'est donc pas impolitique.

Quant à la lâcheté qu'on croit voir dans cette démarche, si elle existe, du moins elle aura un motif honorable ; il sera magnanime aux yeux de l'Europe, aux yeux de la postérité, d'avoir réveillé un peuple digne de la Liberté ; et si, docile à la voix de ses frères, ce peuple, indigné de sa crédulité, reconnaît son erreur et brise son jong, c'est à nous qu'il devra sa délivrance ; ce sont les Français qui auront ranimé son antique énergie. Je vote pour l'Adresse.

Ducos. Toute l'opinion de Barrere est fondée sur un fait faux. Il pense que le peuple Anglais est dans la même opinion que lorsque le ministre vint vous dire que si le gouvernement Anglais amenait une rupture avec la Nation Française, nous ferions un appel au peuple Anglais. Le fait est que tout le peuple est pour la guerre, que les commerçans font des souscriptions pour la guerre, que la guerre est *nationalisée* ; le fait est que c'est lâche de vouloir s'expliquer, quand on a dit : Je vais me battre.

La discussion est fermée.

La question préalable sur l'Adresse au peuple Anglais, est mise aux voix.

L'Assemblée décide qu'il y a lieu à délibérer.

Elle vote ensuite l'Adresse, à une assez grande majorité.

Barrere, Fabre, Coudert et Thomas Paine, sont chargés de la rédiger.

Marat. Les papiers du Ministère Anglais, qui depuis Necker jusqu'à Roland, ont été sous l'influence du ministère Français, dans lesquelles on traite nos gardes Nationaux

tionaux

tionaux de bandits, de brigands, prouvent que la Nation Anglaise ne favorize pas notre cause. Nous n'avons pour nous en Angleterre que *les philosophes* ; et cette classe n'est pas la plus nombreuse.

Si l'Adresse qu'on vous propose d'envoyer en Angleterre pouvait y passer par les feuilles publiques, alors vous pourriez tirer le peuple de l'erreur où il est contre vous ; mais ne le pouvant pas, sachez que tous les moyens que vous emploirez pour la lui faire connaître, seront regardés par ce peuple, qui ne connaît que les lois, comme *illidites*, et qu'il n'y ajoutera aucune foi.

[*Une pause.*] Je retire ma proposition ; les patriotes dont j'avais combattu l'opinion, viennent de me faire observer que cette Adresse est, à la vérité, *inutile pour l'Angleterre* ; mais je la crois *très-importante pour les départemens*.

*Extracts from the Discussion in the Sitting of the Convention
of February 1, on the declaration of war against
England and Holland.*

BRISOT. Citizens, you have referred to your Committee of General Safety the new paper relative to the conduct of England towards the French Republic.

Citizens, the spirit of England is desirous of war ; of this fact you can no longer entertain any doubt. The statement of the conduct of that Court, presented to you by your Committee on the 12th of the last month, and which it would answer no purpose to repeat here, must have prepared you for such an event. At that time a hope might still have been entertained, that reason would restore the English ministry to the principles of Justice. That, convinced of the futility of their remonstrances, of the injustice of their proceedings and persecutions towards the French, and dreading the resentment of a Nation

tion they have deceived, and which might every instant have opened its eyes to the light; it might have been hoped, I say, that these ministers would have ceased to employ chicanery in their measures, and have concurred earnestly with the Provisional Executive Council of France, to maintain peace between the two nations. This hope, cherished by men who cannot view without horror a war between *two free nations*, this hope is at an end; and the hostile views of the Cabinet of London are at length unveiled. A perfidious mask of neutrality covered them; that mask has been removed by your republican firmness. GEORGE secretly and for a long time meditated war against your liberty, the enjoyment of which *no tyrant* will ever pardon you. He has corrupted the opinion of the nation, has terrified commerce, *dictated to the Parliament*, menaced his ministers, and, certain of this coalition, he believes that at the present moment he can with impunity muster his forces against your liberty. He declares war by ordering your ambassador to quit England within eight days; he declares it against you, by publicly testifying *symptoms of grief* on the fate of *the conspirator you have justly condemned to death*; he declares it against you, by demanding of Parliament, on learning the news of that death, a considerable augmentation of land and sea forces.

Rather may England perish, than witness the consolidation of the French Republic! Do not doubt, Frenchmen, but such is the barbarous wish of the King of Great Britain: such the energetic interpretation of the violence he has done to your ambassador, and of the armaments he orders.

If he has not immediately and fatally declared war against you, it is because his ministers have not with a sufficient activity seconded the orders of his vengeance: 'tis because his forces are not yet prepared to destroy your commerce, to take possession of your colonies, and ravage
your

your plains. 'Tis because he is desirous, by a Machiavelian refinement, to avoid the appearance of aggression, to be enabled to urge an accusation against you to the English nation. In a word, he wishes to popularize, to nationalize this war. Certainly, if the people of England had not allowed themselves to be carried away by the impulse of their ministers; if they had examined with a slight degree of attention the calumnies so liberally circulated against us,—they would have seen, in the crimes imputed to us, merely the crimes of a few individuals. They would have seen in France but one spirit, one wish; in our Revolution, simply the legitimate conquest of our rights; in our Republican government, no other than the government best calculated to maintain liberty and equality; and, lastly, in the punishment of Louis, they would merely have seen *a great act of justice*. Convinced of these truths the people of England would have said to their King, the French wish to be republicans; they have abolished royalty, and punished their King—they had a right to do so. To declare war against them as a punishment would be an act of injustice, and a violation of the right of nations, of the sacred right of their independance. The French do not combat us because we have a King; with what right, therefore, can we combat them because they are without one? We may continue to be brothers, notwithstanding we differ as to the mode of government.

Such, citizens, is the opinion which without doubt obtained a hold in the minds of the greater part of the people of England, on observing the acts of hostility of King George; an opinion which, *unless for the terror of bayonets*, would already have displayed itself in a country in which reason is cultivated among all classes of the inhabitants. Wherever reason is cultivated, the French Republic cannot long suffer a popular anathema; and this is the reason why the present war against France, which has been rendered

rendered popular in England by so many intrigues, and so much expence, why it will in a little time be viewed there as an object of horror and execration.

The blood which is about to be spilt, will, in the event, unquestionably fall on the heads of those perfidious ministers who do not scruple to sacrifice whole nations to the narrow calculations of their ambition; of those ministers who speculate on the end or depreciation of our Affignats, as on the termination of our liberty. They are ignorant that an immense mortgage serves as their basis; they forget that the Americans were free long after the destruction of the money they created.

These ministers will not end their days in tranquillity, as was the case with North and his accomplices, whose atrocious crime of framing the American war, was thought to be sufficiently punished by a ministerial disgrace. The English nation, once enlightened by our example, will also execute justice on its conspirators in place. The comedy of the eternal trial of Hastings will no longer be renewed; and the scaffolds will once again serve for the Straffords and Lauds of the present government, equally as for simple robbers.

Citizens, there is an idea which ought to electrify your souls: it is not for yourselves alone that you are on the point of combating; 'tis for all the nations of Europe. Already even does a part of *your enemies* gather the fruits of *your intrepidity*; for kings now dread to vex, to impose on their subjects. In Ireland three millions of men are about to be freed, because your principles have already reached their shores.

'Tis all Europe, or rather 'tis all the tyrants of Europe, you have now to combat both by sea and land.

The merchant must forget his commerce, to become simply a privateer-master. The holder of a capital must at length dedicate his funds to the support of our assignats, which are to supply the want of specie. The proprietor

prietor and the cultivator must renounce every speculation, and carry abundance into our markets. Every citizen must be ready to march like a Roman soldier, that is to say, not only with his arms, but with provisions for a given time. You will thus defeat the calculations of your enemies on the empty state of your magazines. The whole of the French Nation must form but one great army : all France must be an encampment. We must be prepared for reverses of fortune ; we must accustom ourselves to privations. The moment approaches when it will be a crime in any citizen to have two coats, if one only of our brother soldiers should be naked.

A declaration of France being at war with the English government, is to declare that she is so with the Stadtholder, who is rather the subject than the ally of the Cabinet of St. James ; who, giving a loose to every criminal passion, has, in the course of the revolution, favoured the emigrants and the Prussians, vexed the French, and treated the French government with insolence. In proof of these facts I adduce the escape of the forgers of assignats apprehended in Holland ; and this Stadtholder, who, to support the war of the Cabinet of London, now unites his ships of war to those of England, favours the enemy by impeding the importation of corn.

From all these considerations your diplomatic committee proposes to you the following decree :

The National Convention decrees as follows,

1st. The National Convention declares, in the name of the French Nation, that in consequence of the multiplied acts of hostilities and aggressions above mentioned, the French Republic is at war with *the king* of England, and *the Stadtholder* of the United Provinces.

2dly. The National Convention charges the provisional executive council to call out the forces which may appear necessary, to repel aggressions, and maintain the inde-

independence, dignity, and interests of the French Republic.

3dly. The National Convention authorizes the Provisional Executive Council, to make such a disposition of the naval forces of the Republic, as the interest of the state may appear to require. All the particular dispositions in this respect, ordered by the preceding decrees, are revoked.

Ducos. The National Convention of France does not declare war against the King of England. I swear in the presence of Europe and posterity, that, great in your forbearance as well as your courage, you have for a long time sacrificed the just resentment inspired by the disdain, malevolence, and outrages of the English government, to the obstinate esteem you have preserved for a nation which was free—to the desire of uniting yourself to that nation by fraternal ties. Pitt, and George the Third, have replied to your wishes for an alliance by insults; to your moderation by scorn, and insolence. The ministers of a King (those great statesmen!) thought you without virtue, because you were without prejudices. They fancied you without a government, because you were without a King; have contemned you because they were not worthy to know you; and, their audacity augmenting with the opinion they entertained of our weakness, they have endeavoured to assume the stile of masters, in speaking to men over whom destiny itself has not been able to domineer. Citizen Representatives, you will perhaps reply too late to the diplomatic injuries, to the provocations of a despot, by the only language which accords with the Republic, by the mouth of your guns: you will negotiate by battles. The minister of France is outrageously driven from England. 'Tis Pitt, who declares war against you; Pitt, who by a coalition with the tyrants of Prussia and Austria, has sold the English nation to the vilest passions of its master,

and to his jealous hatred to French Liberty. Well! we shall know how to defend that Liberty; and the Cabinet of St. James's, shall not even have the steril advantage over France, of having obtained from her the first act of hostility.

Is it, however, enough for you to confide in the justice of your cause? Ought you to allow the suspicion to fall on you, of having provoked when you have merely aimed at defence? Citizens, it is not to the French Nation that you have need to apologize; by flying in one collective body to our frontiers and our fleets, in this way will Frenchmen justify their representatives. Another justification is required of you, by the voices of all the free and enlightened men of Europe, whose hearts secretly follow the progress of our revolution, and the course of our victories, and who conjure you to triumph by justice and courage, and to merit their future imitation. It is required by the people of England themselves, who will soon blush for having mourned for a tyrant, and wasted their blood and treasures in revenging an odious and degraded shade. The English Nation cannot be long in perceiving with indignation, that the freedom of speech, as well as that of the press, has been scandalously outraged; that spies, whose profession is sought after by men of rank themselves, who are indeed alone worthy the exercise of it, have been introduced into families; that the royal prerogative is converted into an absolute power; and, finally, that the last barrier which yet impeded the enterprises of the government, that the opposition has been almost entirely overthrown by a ministry who, on this occasion, have found it easier to divide than to combat.

This is the moment when the people of England, deceived by the lying proclamations and the hypocritical terrors of their government, will, on awakening, find themselves in the arms of despotism, will too late re-

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pent their having voluntarily embraced their chains. I flatter myself that your victories and their losses will also contribute to open their eyes to their real dangers, and to excite their remorse. They will call to their recollection the American war, provoked by their cries, and terminated by their disgrace.

Citizens, there is an expedient at once noble and simple, by which you may make a glorious display of the principles of justice and generosity, of the emotions of affection even, which have influenced your conduct towards England, since the commencement of the negotiation so scandalously broken through. Give orders to the executive power to publish without delay the whole of its correspondence, and that of the minister of France in London, with the English government. This is the only manifesto worthy of a nation as strong in the purity of its intentions and the goodness of its cause, as in the efficacy of its arms.

This correspondence will be to your constituents a testimony of your love of peace, and of the sacrifices you would make to spare the blood of the people, by exempting them from new efforts of heroism.

If, led on by our successes, the genius of Liberty should again call us to break the chains of some oppressed nation, they will see whether we have yielded to the necessity of repelling an unjust aggression, or, according to the accusation of our enemies, to the ambition of conquest. They will see with how much insincerity the Cabinet of St. James's was offended at the addresses presented at our bar by English citizens, as if the Constituent Assembly had not received similar ones in 1790, without any alarm being created on the part of the British ministry; as if these Englishmen had displayed a seditious intention by urging those reforms Mr. Pitt himself formerly demanded; and as if this disapprobation of the desire of fraternity expressed by their countrymen,

was not on the part of the English ministers, who at the same time gave a favourable reception to Calonne and Bouillé, an evident proof of the hostility of their intentions.

In this correspondence they will see, with what haughtiness sacrifices which two unsuccessful campaigns on our side would scarcely have rendered proposable, were exacted simply to maintain the honour of approaching Mr. Pitt; with what meanness the English Cabinet disputed with our agents a title and powers, when it treated with them alone, and by virtue of these very powers; with what contempt for the sacred principle of the sovereignty of nations, it contested the right of these nations to declare their independance, and to incorporate themselves with other nations; with what perfidious ignorance it exaggerated the importance of Savoy, in what it calls the balance of Europe; with how treacherous and interested a zeal it embraced the side of Holland, in the discussion relative to the opening of the Scheldt; and with what a dread of being convinced, it refused to listen to the natural and simple interpretations, given to the decree which promises succour and fraternity to all the nations that shall burst asunder their bonds!

They will there see with what a forgetfulness of the right of nations, and of the letters of treaties, the English ministry obliged the parliament to pass the bills which respect assignats and foreigners; with how much barbarity our sacred property, our articles of subsistence, were detained in the ports of Great Britain, by a government which appeared to consider Republicans as beasts of prey whom famine alone could subdue. They will see, lastly, with what an affected pity the news of the death of a tyrant who was his enemy, was received by George the Third; and with how much ironical absurdity the ministers of France, who treated by virtue

of powers received from a king who was no more, lost these powers the very moment the head of that perjured King was immolated at the shrine of national justice. In perusing this correspondence one observation will be particularly striking, namely, that all the claims of the British ministry were to form the objects of a negotiation, whilst at the same time the engaging in a regular correspondence was constantly denied to us.

Can it be necessary to adduce any further proofs of the malevolent duplicity of the British Cabinet?

Legislators, the publicity of the steps of a free and just government, will never fail to be at once its apology and its praise: it is its first advantage over its enemies. Learn how to profit by all your advantages. Let the voice of justice, blended with the songs of victory, be heard throughout Europe; but reason, when she has spoken, must necessarily be sustained by force. Revenge your rights, too long insulted or misconceived, and punish the despots who shall dare to attack your Liberty, by the deliverance of their subjects. Let our frontiers be covered by soldiers; our ports be filled with seamen! Let all the country collectively advance to defend the country! The day of battles approaches; the spring returns; and the tree of liberty is about to clothe nature with a new verdure.

BRISOT now read a second time his plan of the decree; and a division was called for on all sides.

The decree, to the following tenor, passed unanimously.

Decree which declares that the French Republic is at War with the King of England and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

THE National Convention, after having heard its committee of general defence, on the conduct of the *English* government towards France;

“ Con-

“ Considering that the King of England has not ceased, and that principally since the revolution of the 10th of August, to give to the French Nation proofs of his enmity, and of his attachment to the coalition of the crowned heads; that at the above epoch he ordered his ambassador at Paris to withdraw himself from thence, because he was unwilling to acknowledge the provisional executive council established by the legislative assembly;

“ That the Cabinet of *St. James's* has from that period discontinued its correspondence with the ambassador of France in London, under pretext of the suspension of the *ci-devant* King of the French;

“ That since the opening of the National Convention, that court has been unwilling to resume the customary correspondence between the two States, and to acknowledge the powers of this Convention;

“ That it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French Republic, although furnished with credential letters given in the name of the Convention;

“ That it has sought to impede the different purchasers of corn and other commodities made in *England*, either by French citizens, or by the agents of the French Republic; that it has stopped several vessels laden with corn for France, whilst, contrary to the tenor of the treaty in 1786, the exportation continued to other foreign countries;

“ That, still more efficaciously to thwart the commercial operations of the Republic in *England*, it has prohibited, by an act of parliament, the circulation of assignats;

“ That, in violation of the 4th article of the treaty of 1786, it has framed by the same parliament, in the course of the month of January, an act which subjects all French citizens entering into or residing in *England*,

to

to forms at once the most inquisitorial, the most vexatious, and the most dangerous to their safety ;

“ That at the same time, and contrary to the tenor of the treaty of peace of 1783, it has granted an open protection and pecuniary succour to the emigrants, and even to the chief of the rebels who have already fought against France, maintaining with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French Revolution ;

“ That it favours, in a similar way, the chiefs of the rebels belonging to the French colonies in the West Indies ;

“ That in the same spirit, without any provocation on the part of France having given rise to such a measure, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the Cabinet of *St. James's* has ordered a considerable naval armament, and an augmentation of the land forces ;

“ That this armament has been ordered at the moment when the English ministers were prosecuting with inveterate spite, those who supported in *England* the principles of the French Revolution, and used all possible means, either in parliament, or abroad, to cover with ignominy the French Republic, and to bring upon her the execration of the English nation and of all Europe ;

“ That the object of this armament destined against *France*, has not been disguised even in the parliament of *England* ;

“ That although the provisory executive council of France have employed all measures to preserve peace and fraternity with the English nation, and answered the calumnies and violations of the treaties, only by remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of free men, the English ministers have persevered in their system of malevolence

and

and hostility; continued the armaments, and sent a squadron towards the *Scheldt*, to disconcert the operations of *France* in *Belgia* ;

“ That on the tidings of the execution of Louis, they carried their outrageous conduct so far as to give orders to the French ambassador to quit the territory of *Great Britain* within eight days ;

“ That the King of England manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his intention of supporting it, by divers resolutions taken at the moment of his death, either in appointing generals of his land forces, or in demanding of the parliament of England a considerable addition of sea and land forces, and to order the fitting out of gun-boats ;

“ That the secret coalition with the enemies of *France*, and particularly with the Emperor and *Russia*, has just been confirmed by a treaty entered into with the first, in the month of January.

“ That it has drawn into the same coalition the Stadtholder of *Holland* ; that this prince, whose servile devotion to the courts of *St. James's* and *Berlin* is but too notorious, has, in the course of the French Revolution, and notwithstanding the neutrality he had declared, treated with contempt the agents of *France*, given a friendly reception to the emigrants, harassed the *French patriots*, counteracted their operations, set at liberty, in spite of received usages, and the demand of the French minister, the forgers of false assignats ; that at the same time, in concurrence with the hostile designs of the court of *London*, he has ordered an armament by sea, named an admiral, and commanded some Dutch ships to join an English fleet ; has opened a loan to supply the expence of the war ; and has stopped the exportations to *France*, while he favoured the furnishing of Prussian and Austrian magazines.

“ Considering, lastly, that these circumstances leave

no longer to the French Republic the hopes of obtaining by an amicable negotiation the redress of these wrongs, and that all the acts of the British Court and of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, are acts equivalent to a declaration of war.

“ The National Convention decrees as follows :

ART. I. The National Convention decrees in the name of the French Nation, that, considering these acts of hostility and aggression, *the French Republic is at war with the King of England, and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces.*

2. The National Convention charges the provisional executive council to put on foot the force which shall appear necessary, to repel this aggression, and to support the independence, the dignity, and the interests of the French Republic.

3. The National Convention authorizes the provisional executive council to dispose of the naval force of the Republic, in such a manner as the interest of the State may appear to require ; and it revokes all the particular dispositions ordered on this account by preceding decrees.

BARBAROUX. Representatives, I have voted for a war against the cabinet of St. James's, because I entertain the hope of seeing the people of England at length shake off the stupor into which the long habit of their constitutional slavery has plunged them ;—of seeing them revenge our cause on a Court which pushes on to their mutual destruction two Nations that for the happiness of the whole human race ought to be united. Maritime wars are the most destructive scourge of mankind.

FABRE D'ÉGLANTINE. I demand that independently of the publication of the ministerial correspondence with the Court of London, and the speeches of *Brissot* and *Ducos*, you make a direct address to the English Nation, in the name of the French Nation, and that you

decree that the natives of England and Holland residing in France are under the protection of the law.

SAINT-ANDRE. The people of England will be obliged to us for having opened their eyes on the conduct of their ministers, and on that of *their tyrant*.

CAMILLE-DESMOULINS. BRISOT menaces the English Nation with a *bankruptcy*. Can there be a more certain mode of interesting the people of England against you, than telling them that in the course of a year they will be ruined ?

BARRERE. When the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced to you that the time was perhaps not very distant, when the French Nation would make a solemn appeal to the English Nation, you crowned him with applauses.

The address will fulfil this object : it ought to express the distinction we wish to make between England and her Government, *and will thus leave the despot in all his nakedness*, hideous, and loaded with the whole of the responsibility of a war which he will have undertaken merely to satisfy a vain pride. In this point of view the address is not impolitic.

As to the baseness some affect to see in this step, *it will at the least, provided it exists, have an honourable motive*. It will be grand, it will be magnanimous, in the eyes of Europe, in the eyes of posterity, to have roused a Nation worthy of Liberty ; and if this Nation, docile to the call of its brethren ; if this Nation, indignant at its credulity, should discover its error and break its yoke, it is to us that it will owe its deliverance. It will have belonged to the French to have restored to the people of England their ancient energy. I therefore vote for the address.

DUCOS. The whole of BARRERE's opinion is founded on a false principle. He thinks that the English Nation still entertains *the opinion it held, at the time our Minister*

minister came to tell us that if the English Government should bring about a rupture with the French Nation, it would become us to make an appeal to the People of England. The fact is, that the whole of the English Nation is for war; that the merchants form subscriptions for war; and that the war is nationalized. The fact is, that it is cowardly in any one to explain, when he has said I am about to fight.

The discussion was closed.

The previous Question on the Address to the People of England was put to the vote; and the Assembly determined that there was no room for deliberation.

The Address was next carried by a considerable majority.

Barrere, Fabre, Condorcet, and Thomas Payne, were ordered to prepare it.

MARAT. The papers of the English Ministry, which, from the administration of Necker, downwards to that of Roland, were under the influence of the French Ministry, and in which our National Guards are now described as a banditti and as robbers, are a proof that the English Nation does not favour our cause. In England we have on our side *the Philosophers only*; and this class is not the most numerous.

If the Address, to be sent to England, which has been proposed to you, could be there inserted in the public prints, you might then extricate the people of England from the error into which they have fallen respecting you. Not being able, however, to do this, know that all the means you may employ to convince them of this their error, will be regarded as *illegal by these people, who are acquainted with laws only.*

[After a pause] I withdraw my opposition. The patriots whose opinions I have combated, have just observed to me that this address is in reality *unnecessary for England*; but I deem it at the same time *very important to the departments.*

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH SOCIETIES.

SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION.

May 18, 1792.

— “ Establishing the general Freedom of *Europe*,
“ In this best of Causes we wish you success.”

*Holborn Society of the Friends of the People; instituted 22d
November 1792, for the Purpose of Political Investigation.*

Pages 2, and 3,

“ IT is an insult to the feelings of Englishmen, to suppose they can sanction the political enormities of the present day—generous in their nature, they shudder at every species of devastation and rapine—they cannot, nor will they sanction a formidable mass of corruption.—They are not so criminally blind, as to smile with complacency on those whose highest distinction is plunder—nor are they so totally ignorant, as to estimate any man’s time equal to the liberty of robbing them of so much of their property as to be enabled to riot for a time, in all the luxuries and dissipations of life, and afterwards retire loaded with riches and pensions. But let us turn indignantly from this contemptible picture, and hail the speedy approach of general
happy

happiness—hail the moment when the ethereal blaze of friendship will spread from pole to pole—when religious animosities will cease, and when society will forget all distinctions but those of wisdom and virtue. Hail the happy days when the wretchedness of poverty will be ameliorated, and the pride of riches vanish before the pleasures of extending happiness to surrounding objects. Oh! hail! hail Britons! hail! the happy period of universal knowledge advances with slow but steady pace. Man begins more generally to feel himself the friend of his own species—Reason is re-assuming her empire, and kindling a flame of benevolence never more to be extinguished.

Citizens, soldiers, and sailors, of all nations, empires, kingdoms, and states, you likewise are interested in this great subject—we feel for you—you are united to civil society by the bands of nature—you are constituted from among us—you are our friends, our brethren—you have relations of every description with us—Fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters; nay, even wives and children—all join with us in ardently panting for your preservation, and deploring your hardships—all shrinking with horror at the diabolical practice of coolly bartering your precious lives for the most mercenary purposes. Ah! brave, but ill-fated men—dare to think, and even dare to avow, that nothing but the good of society shall influence your arms—dare to be the friends of oppressed virtue, and the terror of overbearing vice—your own situation, together with that of society, demands those exertions. We invite you, therefore, to participate with us in the glorious cause of freedom—and peaceably to unite in investigating the sources of all our grievances.”

*The Soldier's Friend ; or, Considerations on the late pretended
Augmentation of the Subsistence of the Private Soldiers.*

Page 5.

" If any thing done in that wise and equal representation of the people called the House of Commons, were worth a thought from a man of sense ; if any weakness or absurdity of their's could at this day possibly create the least astonishment, one might think it wonderful, that members should sit, and silently hear their understandings thus insulted, and see their acts, as it were, trampled under foot before their faces !"

Page 7. " And here I cannot help observing, that this Assembly seems, by none of its acts, to be worthy of the attribute of *Omnipotence*, so often bestowed on it, than by its donations ; for how exactly does the manner of those correspond with that promise in scripture—*Ask and it shall be given unto you* ? Their conduct, in this particular, bears an exact resemblance to that of the Father of the Universe, with this little difference, the dispensation of his gifts is the result of infinite wisdom, and the cause of universal order and happiness, while theirs——

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Page 12. ——— " the close connection that exists between the *ruling faction* in this country, and the military officers—this connection ever must exist while we suffer ourselves to be governed by a faction."

The Patriot.—Tuesday, December 11, 1792.

Page 186. " Thus is a nation pillaged—thus in an overbearing, haughty, and supercilious race of men called *nobility*, supported in pampered luxury and idleness, by the

the toil and labour of the industrious community, for the purpose of oppressing that community by a constant support of every measure proposed by any profligate court, and abandoned and prodigal administration."

Page 214.—" Upon this, the most favourable view of the representation, what right have seven millions of people to boast of a free and glorious constitution, and of exercising the power of granting their own money?"

Address of the London Corresponding Society, to the other Societies of Great Britain, united for obtaining a Reform in Parliament.

Page 14. "The House of Commons may have been the source of our calamity; it may prove that of our deliverance. Should it not, we trust we shall not prove unworthy our forefathers, whose exertions in the cause of mankind so well deserve our imitation."

The London Corresponding Society's Addresses and Resolutions. (Reprinted)

Page 1. "The few who are now permitted to elect representatives, and those who are chosen by this small number of electors, disgrace the country at large by buying and selling votes, by corrupting and being corrupted—the former by their behaviour at elections, and the latter by their conduct in the senate—more than sufficient to prove that the nation is unrepresented, and that the present system is totally unconstitutional."

Page 2. "Resolved, 5, That in consequence of a partial, unequal, and therefore inadequate representation, together with

with the *corrupt* method in which representatives are elected, *oppressive taxes, unjust laws, restrictions of liberty, and wasting of the public money*, have ensued."

Ibid. Resolved, 7. "That a fair, equal, and impartial representation can never take place until *all partial privileges* are abolished."

Page 3. — — — — — "where the whole of the supposed representation of the people is neither more nor less than an usurped power, arising either from abuses in the mode of election and duration of parliaments, or from a corrupt property in certain decayed corporations, by means of which the liberties of this nation are basely bartered away for the private profit of members of parliament."

Page 6. "Let him then ask himself, whether it be the part of a good citizen to sit quiet under such abuses, which have not only increased, but are at this moment increasing; and which ought therefore to be remedied without delay."

"Till the reign of HENRY VI. it was not necessary for the inhabitant of a county to have a freehold estate of 40s. a-year, in order to vote for the representative of his county. But the statute of that king, passed in the year 1429, under pretence of preventing disputes at elections, most unjustly deprived a great part of the commons of this nation, of the right of consenting to those taxes, which, notwithstanding, they were compelled to pay just as if such right had not been taken from them.

"Till the reign of Queen ANNE, it was not necessary for the inhabitant of a county to have 600l. a-year, freehold or copyhold estate, in order to his being elected the representative of his county. But the statute of that Queen, passed in the year 1710, under pretence of the freedom of parliament, excluded all persons not possessed of such a property, from our representation, whatever be their principles, their abilities, or their integrity.

"Till

" Till the reign of WILLIAM III. parliaments were of right to be called *once a-year*, or oftener if need be. But the statute of that King, passed in the year 1694, under pretence of calling them more frequently, enacted, that they should be holden once in *three years* at the least.

" Till the reign of GEORGE I. parliaments were therefore of three years duration; but the statute of that King, passed in the year 1715, under pretence of a '*restless faction*' then existing in the nation, usurped a power of enacting, that *parliaments should respectively have continuance for seven years.*"

Page 8: ——— " Shall we, the multitude, suffer a few, with no better right than ourselves, to usurp the power of governing us without controul? Surely not—Let us rather unite in one common cause, to cast away our bondage, being assured, that in so doing we are protected by a jury of our countrymen, while we are discharging a duty to ourselves, to our country, and to mankind."

Address and Declaration of the Society of Constitutional Whigs, Independent, and Friends of the People, united for obtaining equal Liberty by a Parliamentary Reform.

Page 2. " It has become expedient for THE PEOPLE to associate, for the purpose of obtaining a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM: That through the medium of a fair and equal representation annually chosen, they may be relieved from a load of taxes too grievous to be borne, and rendered still more intolerable, *by their produce being lavished on PLACEMEN and PENSIONERS, and employed in subverting their RIGHTS, by the corruption of their DELEGATES.*"

*Holborn Society of the Friends of the People; instituted
22d of Nov. 1792, for the purpose of Political
Investigation.*

Page 3.— Plan, Art. 7. “ If a speedy and effectual reform should upon investigation appear necessary, it will be the chief object of this Society to discuss the plan of a National Convention, by which all parties may be fairly and equally represented. Every member will then be requested to bring forward his ideas, that from the whole an eligible plan may be adopted.”

Southwark, April 19, 1792.

At a Meeting held at the Three Tuns Tavern, Mr.

SAMUEL FAVELL, in the Chair.

Declaration, Page 2. “ We are told that we have a constitution. If it permits these abuses, it is either *not* a good one, or good *only in part*, and defective in its principles, constitution, and effects. The continual applause bestowed upon it by placemen, pensioners, government contractors, court expectants, and the hired editors of prostituted newspapers, has justly excited our suspicion either of its excellence or its existence. It may be good for THEM, and not for us: and as we are no longer to be amused with a *name* or a *phantom*, we will direct our enquiries to the fact.”

Page 3. “ We are desirous, therefore, of uniting with the several Societies already formed in various parts of the nation, for promoting an enquiry into, and asserting the rights of the people.”

A few

A few Queries to the Methodists in general, &c.

Query 7. "Does not both reason and revelation teach us, that in order to lay the axe to the root of the tree of wickedness, we must begin with kings and princes, and bishops and priests?"

London, Oct. 22.

Address from the London Corresponding Society to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, on the subject of a Parliamentary Reform.

Page 3. ————"It is highly disgraceful for you to suffer yourselves any longer to be thus enslaved and disposed of as cattle in a fair, as irrational beasts in a market to the highest bidder."

Page 4. "We will not hurt your feelings by a minute detail of our common grievances, you cannot be ignorant, friends and fellow sufferers, how generally power, place, pension, and title, are the rewards of men whose services to the court have been of the greatest prejudice to the country—you painfully feel the consequences, increased taxes, a great part of which are most vilely squandered—a heavy national debt, begun with a design of forming a powerful and monied court party, continued with nearly the same view unto its present enormous bulk, and from its commencement militating against our liberties. Too visible are the numerous encroachments on our rights—too common the insolence of office, the venality of magistracy, the perversion of the laws, the letting loose the military on every occasion, and those occasions eagerly sought. The subjects' complaint derided—the one part of the nation turned into spies and informers against the other—the——but wherefore

more

more? Is here not enough to prove, beyond a doubt, that while we boast the best constitution, the mildest laws, the freest government, we are in fact slaves?"

Page 8. "Persevere and be free, for who shall dare withstand our just demands? Oppression, already trembling at the voice of individuals, will shrink away and disappear for ever, when the nation united shall assert its privileges, and demand their restoration."

The Rights of Man, as exhibited in a Lecture, read at the Philosophical Society at Newcastle, &c.

Page 4. (Last line) "Hence it is plain, that the land or earth in any country or neighbourhood, with every thing in or on the same, or pertaining thereto, belongs at all times, to the living inhabitants of the said country or neighbourhood in an equal manner. For, as I said before, there is no living but on land and its productions, consequently what we cannot live without, we have the same property in, as in our lives."

Birmingham Society for Constitutional Information—

First instituted Nov. 20, 1792.

Page 7. "At present, that House (Parliament) does not consist of the representatives of the people, but of lords and rich landholders; of ministers and borough-mongers, who buy and sell seats in parliament, as 'openly and notoriously as stalls for cattle at a fair.' Therefore, it is not true that this government is a government by king, lords, and commons; for the commons, or people, are not represented. '*The commons of England in parliament assembled,*' is a phrase false and absurd; it should be, '*The deputies of the aristocracy in parliament assembled.*'"

"Declaration

*"Declaration." Page 11. "The Constitution of the
Legislature is a fraudulent deception."*

*Page 22. "The present parliament, for ought we
know, may pass a bill to strip us of all our possessions,
of every thing we hold dear in life; as it is well known
that the minister and those that vote with him, could
carry any measure, however hostile to the interest of the
body of the people, whose servants the House of Com-
mons are."*

LIST OF CLUBS

WHICH HAVE MET IN LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, FOR
THE PURPOSE OF DISSEMINATING
SEDITIONOUS PRINCIPLES.

No. *Places of Meeting.*

1. One Tun, Strand.
2. Unicorn, Henrietta-Street, Covent-Garden.
3. Green Dragon, King Street, Golden-Square.
4. Thistle and Crown, Great Peter-Street.
5. Marquis of Granby, Castle-Street, Oxford-Market.
6. Nag's Head, Orange-Court.
7. Black Dog, Oxford-Market.
8. Sun, Windmill-Street.
9. Unicorn, Henrietta-Street.
10. Scotch Arms, and at the Wrekin, Huet's-Court, Round Court.
11. Rainbow, Fleet-Street, and afterwards at the Three Herrings, Shire-Lane; afterwards to a private House, Gray's-Inn-Lane.
12. Coach-maker's Arms, Noble-Street, Foster-Lane; then at Mansion House, opposite the Mansion House; and then at the Crown, Newgate-Street.
13. Red Lion, Brownlow-Street.
14. Black Swan, Brown's-Lane, Spital-Fields.
15. Cock, Cock-Court, Villiers-Street.
16. Black Swan, Brown's-Lane.
17. _____
18. 31, Compton-Street.
19. _____
20. _____
21. _____
22. _____
23. Ship, Finsbury-Place.
24. Black Swan, Brown's Lane.
25. Lowe's, Crown-Street, Moorfields.
26. 19, Wych-Street; afterwards 31, Compton-Street.
27. _____
28. _____
29. Coffee House, Shire-Lane, Temple-Bar.

* No. 1. first met at the Bell, Exeter-street, in the Strand, afterwards removed from thence, and the following Eight branched from it.

